



# KANGURA

GASHYANTARE 1993

N°40

IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA NO  
KURENGERA RUBANDA  
NYAMWINSHI.

100 FRW



- Ese abatutsi bibagiwe ibyo KAYIBANDA yababwiye aka kanya..... ?
- HABYARIMANA niyumve ibyo abahutu bamusaba
- CYANGUGU : Twagiramungu yamariye urubyiruko mu nkotanyi
- BURUNDI : Buyoya azava ku butegetsi muri Kamena uyu mwaka
- NSENGIYAREMYE yabwiye abahutu ati : Mwirwaneho. Ahubwo baratinze !!!!

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## ETITORIAL

# RUHENGARI NA BYUMBA ZARATEWE ABATUTSI BANYWA «CHAMPAGNE»



Ruhengeri, abahutu bahapfiriye b'abasiviri ni benshi cyane. Ngicyo imitwe irya, ngayo amaguru icyo, ngicyo igihimba icyi... Inyenzi koko ni abarandimwe?». Abagize Imana bagahungu, icyizere bafite cyo guwanga ababo ni gito cyane kuko hari umusirikari muturukwibwije ngo kuva yajobora imirwano ni bwo yabona abasiviri bagwa mu mirwano ako kageni!

«Jeune Afrique» yavugaga ibyo muri Liberiya S.V.P.!

Umuhutu k'umubiri twari kumwe ni Musangamfura gusa, akaba ari umugohore w'isibo. Nk'uko bizwi, icyo kinyamakuru gikorera MDR, iryo aya-ka ry'umucyo na ryo rikaba rikorera FPR. Tutabwirizaho, murumuna aho Musangamfura abogamiye. Abo twabonaga ko ari abahutu turi kumwe ni Ingabo zari ziduherekeje gusa. Ni uko ari disipulini Ingabo z'imisore igihumbi zifite, naho ubundi abo batutsi...

Ntabwo ibyo byitaho byatashye byishimye kuko twari mu ruhanda rw'ihangana ry'inyenzi n'ingabo, zibonye ko ibitero bya bene wabo ari ukwiyahura gusa. «Ababarandimwe» niba baguye ari benshi cyane kandi ari bwo intabwari «nouvelle formule» igitangira. Moral y'ingabo z'u Rwanda iri mu kire-re. Minisitiri Gasana James nyitahire, nta wundi muri nta rundi rukingo. Ibitu ni ugushyirira buhisi. Hari ahandi se badukinze? Umutoza wabo se Musenzi ntiyafashe Kampala Okello akijijira mu mishyikirano? Cette fois-ci point de naïveté. Nta kuba ukundi umuamara gato wose.

Kugeza nyine tariki ya 18 Gashyantare, nta mungapolitiki wo muri PL, PSD, MDR, PDC, uri muri Guturima wari wagaragaza ibitekerezo bya ngo hagire umenya aho abogamiye. Turareba tugasanga harimo ubugambanyi. Minisitiri w'Intebe w'arashyirishye inshye adakwiriye. Kubona nacyo yari yatanze abanyarwanda? Abababwiririra hafi barugako we yakize yitekeretse amatara. Ku ruhanda rwe, ngo Habarimana Juvénal yaba yarahatereye amajwi menaki mu matara ategereye. Ibi byaba byerekana ko mu gihe miringi zibabazawe na none rugari bazitwaza iki gitero kugira ngo bakomeze ingeso nshumba. Nsengiyaremye nacyo aho mba kuko abapfa ari abakiga kandi n'ubushyamba akaba abazira!

Isomo dukuye murugendo: abatutsi bahungirye i Kigali ari benshi, kandi hanze aha biravugwa ko kapitoli nayo ishobora guterwa. Dusanze twari ko umu-

Ruhengeri yaratewe. Yaratewe maze abatutsi bane cyane cyane abari muri Kigali batyaye rya vuganyo ryabo bari-renzaho «champagne» ngo abandi bana baratashye. Ntibagihishako icyi ntambura ari icy'abahutu n'abatutsi. Icyizere cyari cyose ngo inyenzi zirataha muri Kapitali. Bishimye Radiyo Rwanda itarabatangaza mu makuru yayo ya mbere yo mu gihango cyo ku tariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993. Abahutu rero nabo nibabangukire kwishyamba mu burya nk'ubwo. Burya ngo igishe cy'icumu kirurwa n'irindi rishyushye.

Nk'uko twabonyemo kuri Radiyo Rwanda ibatangaza, mu ijoro ry'ubuho 7 rishyirira iry'ubuho 8, ni bwo umugi wa Ruhengeri watewe. Muri uwo mugari hari ibyitaho byinshi, bikaba ndetse byaragiye bibwirira abatutsi batuye muri uwo mugari ngo bihungire. Abateye benshi, bahungirye ku kiraro cya Rwebeye, bazamuka Yavunde yose, bakimirana hirya y'aho bita mu kizungu. Kabaya yose barayisenguruka, Nyamagumba barayirasa rirakaka k'uburyo byageze aho bakayurira.

Inyenzi zasigaye hasi ya Kabaya ziraye mu batwaga baho kimwe n'abo muri segiteri Muko, igice cyayo cyegerereye Kabaya maze babakorerwa ibyo ifu-ndi igira ibibazo.

Ibyo twavuye, ntabwo ari umupira w'amaguru twageze, ahubwo ni ubungu-maswa bw'abantu biyise koko inyenzi. Mu kuri kose, amabendera ya MRND na CDR zabonye muri ako gace ni yo yabaye nk'apatsa umurimo. Zahamagaraga abaturage cyangwa zikabafatira noneho zikabizeza ko nta kibazo. Ubwo abahutu 20 cyangwa 30 bagafungirwa mu nzu imwe maze bakamishyirirwa. Muri

Ntizihihisha muri iki gihe! Umuhutu zicaga wese zamugerekagaho ingufere ya CDR cyangwa icyo MRND. Abatutsi twari kumwe duturira Ruhengeri tariki ya 12 Gashyantare nabo barabonye. Ikindi kandi, hari Radiyo y'amahanga Kagame Paul aherutse kweturira ko FPR ari icy'abahutu, akaba ari cyo gituma ngo yaje guhimangira muri ako karere icyubahirira cy'ubwoko bwoko. Turaba turabona icyo iryo shima-ngira riratangira. Ingabo zizikomereze zizishyubikanye gusa, ibindi bizakurikira hari abazabyirangirira: Ukunukirije utumukirira akwita kihura nyo. None se siko bimeze muvaho kimwe? Si uguhura ahubwo ni ukwitabara kuko bitabaye ibyo zakomeza (inyenzi) kutwica zidushyirira.

Tariki ya 12 Gashyantare, twavuye Ruhengeri nk'uko twabonye. Twari kumwe n'abatutsi benshi b'abanyamakuru kimwe na babandi bo mu mirwano yita ku kiremukamuntu. Ariko mu by'ukuri ababona bari neza icyo kiremukamuntu icyo ari cyo. Abo bane babonye ukuntu inyenzi ubwazo zihambira abantu babo benshi mu cyobo kimwe. Ni nako mu Kinigi zigiyeye zibigenze muri 1991.

Ariko hambere aha twabonye ukuntu abazungu baherutse imu mu ruho rw'uburunganzira bw'ikiremukamuntu, bagiyeye mu Kinigi bagatuburira amagurira y'abantu maze bakagenda bemeza ngo ni abagore bo mu Kinigi. Benshi muri abo banyamakuru b'abatutsi bandiye mu banyamakuru byabo bemeza ko ibyo abo bazungu baruze ari ukuri. Hari nka «Le Flambeau» N° 2 iruho abagore 2.000 bapfuye ariko iterekana ifoto iri-ho igihanga kimwe nayo gashyirirwa muri



hutu atinda gukomeza umujinya, ariko icyo kabaye ntabwo gishya. Icyo gitero rero budakomeye nk'igitambabwaga bakangishaho umujima, hari ubwo gishoboraga gusanga ariyo saba abahutu bagiyeho guhagurukira rimwe nk'umuntu umwe. Wenda ni cyo gihe natwe twababukiriza muri ayo mahoteri basigaye barihaye guhungiramo. Icyo gihe kandi, abategesi banyuze i Kigali noneho bazumira intambara icyo ari cyo !

Ku byerekeye abo twari kumwe duturira imirwano, twari kumwe n'abatutsi

bakorera i Kigali bamwe biyita ko bahagarariye uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa hutsi. Abo batutsi icyo Major yaberekeye uko ubugome bwa bene wabo bungana, cyane cyane icyo baberekeye nk'abo batwikingiye mu nzu, abasatwese amaza, abashakwese... Abo batutsi baramwemurira ku mufima ngo icyo abahutu bashiraga maze abasubiramo bagatanga nta nkomyi.

Ngaho nimwiyumvire ukuntu ingenzi zitegereye gutahuka ngo zibane n'abahu-

tu zahemukiye, ukuntu zifuzaga kubamubura. Kubona abahutu bapfa, abatutsi bagakoreshe umunsi mukuru, byerekeye uko u Rwanda ruzaba rumaze mu minsi iri imbere. Ku byerekeye ubugome bw'abo batutsi twajyanye gusura urugamba, muzabwira mu nyandiko zabo zirasohoka mu binyamakuru byabo nka: *Le Flambeau*, *Kangura*, *Le Soleil*, *Rwanda*, *Rushya*, *Isibo*, *La Griffe*, n'ibindi muvuziye.

NGEZE HASSAN.

## TURAMAMAZA

### ISHYIRAHAMWE RY'ABAHUTU BOSE : «TURI HOSE»

Ishyirahamwe ry'abahutu bose, bakomoka mu mashyamba anyuranye ryavutse !

Birababaje kubona abahutu aribo birirwa bamarana, bapfa ko batayobotse amashyamba amwe, cyangwa se badakomoka mu turere tumwe. Kubera ko abahutu bose ari bamwe kandi abo mu karere kamwe bakaba bakeneye muri byose abo mu kandi karere. Abo mu ishyamba iri niri nabo bakaba bakeneye abo mu rindi ku mpemvu zinyuranye. Niyo mpemvu hashyizweho ishyirahamwe «TURI HOSE». Uzaba yarinjiye muri «TURI HOSE», azaba ashobora kujya ahari abahutu hose, nta kwishisha cyangwa kwikeka, icyo ari cyo cyose. Yemwe no mu myigaragambyo y'amashyamba abonekamo abahutu uzaba afite ikarita ya «Turi hose», azashobora kwihitira nta nkomyi. Uzahura n'ibibazo ibyaho ari byo byose azaba ashobora gutabarwa.

Umutwe «TURI HOSE», watangiye no gutanga amakarita yawo mu mahanga ahaboneka abahutu (bantous). Umutwe «TURI HOSE» ushobora kugoboka muri byose n'abahutu bari mu mahanga muri byose igihe bibaye ngombwa. Ngaho rero nimufate amakarita ya :  
«TURI HOSE».

N.B. : Abifuza guhagararira «TURI HOSE» mu mpande zose z'u Rwanda, nimubarize ku buyobozi bwa Kangura kuri B.P. 1312 Kigali.

Uri mu mahoro ategura intambara  
Uri mu ntambara ategura amahoro  
Ukeneye ingufu ajya ku ruhanda rwa benshi.

## KUGIRA NGO IYI NTAMBARA IRANGIRE, NI NGOMBWA KO CDR NA FPR ZIHURA

Hari umunyapolitiki w'umunyamerika, MC Enroe wigeze kuvuga ati : «L'Amérique aux Américains», ari byo kuvuga ngo «Amerika niba iy'Abanyamerika». Umuririmbyi Jimmy Cliff wo muri Jamaica yongera ho ko niba Amerika ari iy'Abanyamerika, Afurika niba nayo iy'Abanyafurika, Ubuhinde bube ubw'Abahinde, Uburayi bube ubw'Abanyaburayi. Icyo abo bagabo bombi bashakaga ku-

vuga si ukubwiriza abantu kwigunga Oya ! Icyo babivugiyeho ni ukubwira abantu kwivanga mu bibazo igihugu iki n'iki kihariye. Ikibazo cy'u Rwanda ni icy'abanyarwanda gusa, bagomba kucyikemurira ubwabo.

Intambara turwana n'inyenzi. Nkotanyi irarambiranye dore ko imaze kumara imyaka ibiri irenga. Imishyikirano hagati ya Guverinoma y'u Rwanda na FPR-Inkotanyi nayo nta-

cyo itanga kandi ntacyo izatanga. Igihe kirageze rero cyo kubwizanya ukuri aho kugira ngo dukomeze dute igihe ARUSHA. Ikibazo cy'u Rwanda, intambara turimo, ni intambara y'abahutu n'abatutsi, barwanira ubutegetsi. Abatwa bo n'ubwo bwose ari abanyarwanda kavukire b'iki gihugu, icyo kibazo gisa n'abo kitabareba. Bagihariye ibihangange bibiri.

Intambara y'abahutu n'abatutsi



si iya none, ni iya kera. Abatutsi bageze mu Rwanda basanga abahutu bategeka. Babarusha amayeri n'ingufu babambura ubutegetsi babwikubira inyaka magana ane yose. Kandi ari bu bako.

Mu mwaka w'1959, rubanda nyamwinshi y'abahutu irivumbura yiganzura abatutsi, ubutegetsi buba ubwa rubanda. Abatutsi bari birukanwe ku ngoma bakoresheje uko bashoboye ngo bisubize ubwo butegetsi bwari buhaciye mu myanya y'intoki. Bakomeje kugaba ibitero kuva u Rwanda rwabona ubwigenge kugeza magingo aya. Biranarirana kuko abahutu nabo banze kwongera kuba ingaruswamuheto. Ikibazo ni uko giteye, ibindi ni amahamba (littérature).

Imishyikirano ni ngombwa niba tudashaka ko igihugu cyacu gihora mu ntambara z'urudaca. Ariko na none imishyikirano ni imishyikirano izira uburyarya, izira uburyamirane. Ibyo inkotanyi zibeshya ko zateye zije guhirika ingoma y'igitugu ya MRND, zizanye demokarasi, ni ukubeshya. Ibyo ni urwitwazo. Zaje zije guhorera ba sekuru bavanywe ku butegetsi n'abahutu. Bihurirana n'uko Habyarimana ari we Perezida wa Repubulika. Ku batutsi, Habyarimana ni umuhutu kimwe n'abandi bese. N'ubwo bwose yabakundwako muri iyi myaka yose amaze ku butegetsi. Uretse ko abatutsi ari ba nta munoza, ubundi Habyarimana yari yabatetesheje.

Abatutsi niba bari mu mashyamba amwe n'amwe y'abahutu nka MDR, PSD.... si ubugoryi. Bo bararwana intambara bazi kandi bazi icyo bakora. Nibamara gushuka abahutu batavugurumwe na Habyarimana bakamuhirika, ikibazo kizagaruka uko kimeze ubu. Abatutsi ntibazemera gutegekwa n'abahutu niyo baba aho muri MDR! Dore ko ari nayo yatumye bamenengana. Abahutu nabo, niyo Habyarimana yavaho, ntibakwemera kwongera kuba ingaruswamuheto ngo ni demokarasi. Ibyo abatutsi nabo barabizi. Aho kwirirwa duta igihe ARUSHA, niba inama rukokoma yahuza intumwa z'abahutu b'abanyarwanda bayobowe na Bucyana Maritini, Perezida wa CDR.

Naho ku ruhande rw'abatutsi b'abanyarwanda bahagararirwa na Kigeri V Ndahindurwa, inyenzi nkuru. Ubwo birumvikana ko Kagame (FPR) na Barayagwiza (CDR) batuburamo. Maze urebe ngo baracoca ibibazo bataryaryana nk'uko bimeze ubu mu mishyikirano y'ARUSHA. None

se umuntu mu bahutu asaba umuhutu, mu batutsi aho umututsi, wowe wamushira amakenga! Mu gihe umutwe w'abahutu ushinze guhangana n'abatutsi basakomeza kwigomeka banga kuva ku izima, utari washingwa, ingabo z'u Rwanda zavuye mu izina rya rubanda nyamwinshi. Inyenzi zo birumvikana zavuye mu izina ry'abatutsi. Aha kandi twakwibutsa inyenzi-nkotanyi ko niba zitaretse agasuzuguro n'ivogonyo ryazo cyangwa ngo zive ku izima, ko rubanda nyamwinshi izashyiraho umutwe ugiye n'abana b'abahutu. Uwo mutwe uzaba ushinze kubonana n'abana b'inyenzi bigometse. Ntabwo dukwiye kujandajanda.

## KANGURA

### TWAKURIYE INGOFERO ABASIRIKARI B'IBIREMA BARI MU BIGO BYO MU RUHENGARI.

Mu gihe twasuraga mu Ruhengeri, twageze no mu bigo bya gisirikari bihari. Twasobanuriye ukuntu inyenzi zahamishaga urusaku ariko biranga biba iby'ubusa.

Uyoboye imirwano muri ako kare yamenye ko umugi wawe yihutira we n'abo bari kumwe kuwuranaho. Ikibazo yari afite ni icy'abasirikari bako. Ntiyagombaga gutegereza abamuvuna baturutse mu bindi bigo byica-riye gusa. We nabo bako bagombaga kuba bagize icyo bakozwe noneho abandi baza bagahera aho bagaze.

Abasirikari batarwaye ntibagire n'uburama bashotse mu bigo bya gusirikirana n'umwami. Kubera ko ibigo byagombaga gusigara birinzwe ibirema byari muri ibyo bigo byarasindagijwe bishyirwa ahantu nyangamba «stratégique», biheretse imbunda maze birabwirwa bita: «akanyenzi gacacara mugahonyozwe urusoro nta kibazo». Ibirema bikora akazi kabyo neza, mbese bihaha umutamenwa.

Abumvaga Radiyo Rwanda ivuye ngo ibigo by'u Rwanda mu Ruhengeri biracyari mu maboko y'ingabo z'u Rwanda bumvaga ko ari abasirikari bakaze ariko banafite ingingo zabo zose z'umubiri. Naho burya bwose hari ibirema! Twe twabyibonye, hari n'abari batarakira neza.

Twabakuriye ingofero kandi tubashima ubutwari tubikuye ku mutima. N'ahoreke ba «bavandimwe» bacyiye n'isaharirya ubusa kandi ari ababonyo. Niba nta ngorane zahabaye mu rwego rw'amabanga igisirikari kigira, KANGURA irasaba rwose ibyo birema byarinze ibigo kuyohereza amashuri ngo atangariwe Abanyarwanda. Iyo abanyamakuru ba Kangura dutakereje kuri ibyo birema tumaze nk'aho twe nabo duhagurukiye icyarimwe, twese dufite ingingo zose, maze twahoberana dufite ibyishimo. Turifuza rero kubashyira mu mateka y'abakome bitangaza muri iyi ntambara twakurwego n'inyoko nyenzi.

NYABYENDA ISSA.



Wamenya ukuri ute udasoma Kangura?



## Kwinjiza inkotanyi mu ngabo z'u Rwanda: gushyira urumamfu mu ngano.

Imishyikirano hagati ya Guverinoma y'u Rwanda n'inzenzi-inkotanyi irakomeje Arusha. N'ubwo bwose ntacyo yagezaho kandi ntacyo izageraho, batubwirako iki cyiciro bagihariye gutazuma ukuntu ingabo za FPR-Inkotanyi zakwinjizwa mu ngabo z'u Rwanda. Hari ababivugisha amatama gusa batazi ko bigoye cyane ndetse bise n'ibidashoboka. Nyamara bizaruhanyira.

Tubanze turebe niba hari ahandi byashobotse. Dufate urugero ku bihugu bibiri bitwegereye kuko burya iya kurusha ihera ku rugo: Uganda na Angola. Reka duhere kuri Uganda: Muzi ko inyeshyamba za Museveni (NRA) zimaze kwirukana Tito Okello n'abasirikari be ku butegetsi i Kampala, zahise zigarurira igihugu. Nta musirikari wa Uganda wigeze ashyirwa muri NRA. Izo nyeshyamba shubwo zihutiye kwikwiza ubutegetsi n'amapeti ariakubwira. Ntawe utarabaye "ofisiye" keretse utarabishatse. Kandi ibyo bigakorwa mu buryo budakurikije amategeko yagengaga ingabo za Uganda. Umugabo natanga ni Perezida Habyarimana dore ko ari nawe wabiyambikiye ayo mapeti ku butumire bwa Museveni. Abanyarwanda baje kubona uruhushya rwo kujya muri NRA nyuma nabwo ntibashobora kugera mu myenya y'ubuyobozi. Ibyo bigaragazwa n'uko aba "ofisiye" bakuru b'izo nyeshyamba bose ari abanyamahanga (inyenzi zahunze revolisiyo ya rubanda yo mu w'1959).

Mwatangara mbabwiye ko muri iki gihe, umukuru wa Etat-Major y'inyeshyamba za Museveni ari inyenzi yitwa Christophe Mugisha Muntu, ufite ipeti rya "General-Major". Iyo nyenzi ikomoka ku nyenzi yitwa Muntuwera. Mureba namwe uko ziyoberanyira. Izindi nyenzi zari zikomeye mu nyeshyamba za Museveni ni:

- "General-Major" Fred Rwigyema inyenzi yari ishinze imirwano mu karere k'amajyaruguru ya Uganda.
- "Major" Peter Bayingana, inyenzi yari ishinze ubuvuzi.
- "Major" Chris Bunyenyezi, inyenzi yari ishinze kuyobora "brigade" mu majyaruguru ya Uganda.

Izo nyenzi uko ari eshatu zivuganywe

n'ingabo z'u Rwanda mu Mutara.

- "Major" Kagame, inyenzi muzi cyane ikaba yari ishinze ubumaneko bwa gisirikari mbere y'uko itera u Rwanda, n'abandi nka ba "Commander" Kayitare cyangwa se "Colonel" Wabwile....

Izo nyenzi nizo Museveni yadushumuriye zimwe zirapfa, izisigaye nizo zishakwinyizwa mu ngabo z'u Rwanda.

Urundi rugero rwa hafi ni igihugu cy'Angola. Ingabo za guverinoma y'Angola (MPLA) n'iz'ishyamba rya Jonas Savimbi (UNITA) zanzanywe kubana. Nyamara tukibuka ko ari ingabo za guverinoma y'Angola cyangwa se iza Jonas Savimbi zigizwe n'abanyengola kavukire. Bose bakaba bararwanyije gashakabuhake (Portugal); baze gushyirwa nyuma none imirwano ni yose. Izo ngerozombi zirahagije kugira ngo tubone ko kwinjiza inkotanyi mu ngabo z'u Rwanda ari ikibazo gikomeye. icya mbere tugomba kumenya ni uko iryo yinjizwa rigomba kubahiriza amategeko agenga ingabo z'u Rwanda na disipline izigenga. Kugira ngo winjire mu ngabo z'u Rwanda, ugomba kuba umunyarwanda ubishoboye, uri nta makemwa mu mico no mu myifatire, ukunda igihugu cyawe kandi ukashyirwaho. Byaba byiza ubaye n'umuhutu n'ubwo ntaho byanditse. Yego u Rwanda si u Burundi aho ubwoko bumwe (abatutsi) bugize bwonyine ingabo. Ariko se na none...! Erega bene Musinga bazambya ibintu.

Kumenya inkotanyi y'umunyarwanda n'itarayo ni ikibazo. Bose bitya impunzi z'abanyarwanda kandi tuzi ko ahabwo abanyarwanda mu Nkotanyi ari bako. Abenshi ni abazayiruka, abarundi, abagande... Kuba rero nta makemwa mu mico no mu myifatire, ntubitindaho kuko aho inyenzi zigeze zigaragaza. Twakwemera kugira ingabo ziriwira zica, ziba, zitya ivandurira? Kuba inkotanyi zikunda igihugu byo twe kwirirwa tubiruka. Tuvuge wenda ko u Rwanda ruhuminije rukadohora, inkotanyi zishoboye ubusirikari ni zingaha? Zizaza zinyura mu myitozo yose abasirikari b'u Rwanda babona zirebwe ko burya utabwira abwira ubumera.

Ikindi kibazo ni ukumenya umubare w'inzenzi nyarwanda mu Nkotanyi kugira ngo u Rwanda rutagira ingabo zirenze ubushobozi bwawo. Kuko bibaye ngombwa ko bagabanyira abasirikari, mbona bari bakwiye guhera ku nyenzi. Kuko kugabanyira ingabo z'u Rwanda ngo ni uko inyenzi zije byaba ari ukurenganya abasirikari b'u Rwanda kuko nta kosa bakoze kandi turacyabakeneye.

Ikindi abantu bakomeje kwibaza cyane ni ukuntu inyenzi zizabana n'abasirikari b'u Rwanda. Bamwe bati bazazimara uruhogohongo ngo keretse nibazihira ibigo byazo. Ibyo nabyo ntibishoboka. Ikibazo ariko gikomeye

kurusha ibindi, ni ukuntu inyenzi ziyite "inzofisiye" zashyirwa mu ba "ofisiye" b'ingabo z'igihugu. Kuko hari amategeko. Kugira ngo ube ofisiye mu ngabo z'u Rwanda, ugomba kuba warangije amashuri yisumbuye, ugakomeza mu mashuri makuru ya gisirikari. Mu Rwanda tuzi cyane cyane (ESM) y'i Kigali na (ERM) mu Bubiligi. Ntushidikanya ko haba hari andi mashuri ya gisirikari, arahari rwose. Gusa icyo u Rwanda rutagomba kwihanganira ni rinya tanga ry'amapeti mu Nkotanyi bayagaba nk'ugaba ink. Mu Nkotanyi hari ba liyetona, kapiteni, majoro, koloneli ndetse na jenerali batazi gukomeza no kwandika. Erega u Rwanda rugiyeye kugira aba ofisiye b'inkandagirabitabo. Baha ikarita akayifata icuritse nduzi ko ibyo kuyisoma byo bidashoboka. Ese u Rwanda ruramutse rutewe (tuvuye n'u Burundi), kandi birashoboka, inzira bwoba zatabarane n'abo bantu? Nimwibaze mwishyirirako.

Kangura







*Bucyana, Nsengiyaremye agatoki ku kandi.*

## NAROSE NSENGIYAREMYE ASHAKA KWIYUNGA NA BUCYANA.

Bamwe mu ba konseye ba Minisitiri w'Intebe Nyiricyubahiro Nsengiyaremye bamugiriye inama yo kwegera umushi Bucyana akamuryoshyaryosha ngo areke kuyobora ishyamba ry'impuzamugambi zihararira Repubulika zikarengera n'inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi igizwe ahanini n'abahutu, ndetse ngo ahite arisezeramo. Nibwo Nsengiyaremye yatamizaga icyo ntaramikwa yitangiyeye gushimangira ibyiza twazaniye na Revolusiyo yo mu 1959 aribyo Repubulika na Demokarasi bene Gatutsi n'ibyatso bye (kubera inyungu zabyo n'iz'akareke) bashakira kuburizamo. Iby'ingenzi mu kiganiro bagiranye kumara amasaha arenze abiri biteye bita :

**NSENGIYAREMYE :** «Bwana Maritini Bucyana mwana wa mama, dusangiye akarere muri Nduga yaguye, byakubera byiza cyane uvuye muri iriya ngirwashyaka ry'abakiga, rya MRND, rya Habyarimana. Kuho naho waba ushyigikiye ko rihararira inyungu z'abahutu ntabwo twabwwe muri MDR, PSD, n'andi mashyamba yiganjemo abahutu muturusha kubarengera, tuzirikana nwose icyo hamwe natwe. Ahubwo

icyo CDR yo Irabashuka, yashyizeho n'abashakira kugundira ubutegetsi nk'ikirondwe ku muryango aribo bambari ba MRND kandi b'abakiga gusa gusa. Ese ubundi ko abandi bamaraga ku bumunsi imyaka cumi n'irindwi (17) nka Nsekajije wowe bakujijije iki bakunukiriza MINITRANSCO hanyuma barangira bakakujugunya mu mfunzo z'icyo Zaza aho umwana wawe arira nyirakuru na nyirasenge ntibumye. Nyamara unyumviye nagukungahaze ugasigara wicuza igihe cyose watereye mu gace baguteretsemo. Turagira nwose ngo wibaze kandi mbivuze nkomeje, uriya Jenerali mu kishyamba kirijeho twamuvanyemo ubu ahubwo yabuze aho ahungira aba yarinyarukiye muri aho. Tuzagusanze amashyamba n'impundu, ibicuba by'amata n'imizinda y'ubuki kuko na cyo kirara cyo muri Bibiliya aha na bene wabo bacyakiranye urukundo n'urugwiro.

Kandi ngarutse ku kibazo cy'abatutsi na FPR urabona ko ndi umuhutu uyu nyawe, ntabwo meze nka ba Twagirumungu, uhanira ubuperezida cyangwa kunyambura uyu mwana ndimo, bakemangwa kuba barahinduye ubwoko. Nkiri n'umunyeshuri mu Bubiligi nijye na Ngulinzira babeshyera ngo ni umututsi twageturaga tukanasinyisha inyandiko zamaganaga ubwi-

kanyize bw'ubwoko nyamuke tugasaba ko rubanda nyamwinshi (majorité populaire) igizwe n'abahutu ihabwa umugabane uyikwiye mu butegetsi na mu bukungu bw'igihugu.

Nanjye ubwanjye nzi ku mutima ko FPR ariwe mwanzi wa mbere w'abahutu kuko na bariya ba Bizimungu, Kanyarengwe, Lizinde n'abandi bahutu ari udukingirizo twa kwereka amahanga ko inkotanyi zitavangura amoko. Nah'ubundi FPR igamije inyungu z'abatutsi gusa, icyakora mujye munyumva umwana ndimo no gushaka kwiteganyiriza iminsi ntibyatuma nerura nkamwe b'abaCDR.

Nzi ko kandi ariye ari undi muhutu wese abaye Perezida wa Repubulika inyenzirukotanyi (niwowe ariko mbwije icyo jambo ry'inyenzi mw'ibanga!) zikomaze kurwanya ingoma ya. N'ibyo byakunze ububasha burenze ubw'umukuru w'igihugu ni uko zibwira ko mu gihe nkivuye rumwe nazo zaboneraho uburyo bwo guhirika Perezida uraho maze buhoro buhoro zikigarurira ubutegetsi bwose. Nkimara no kumva ko zagabye ibindi bitero by'amashyamba kandi turi mu mishyamba nahise zikuraho umutima kuko ibyo namaganijye ku Kibuye byasubiriye. Ariko nyine twabwwe abafitanye ibibazo na Jenerali harimo abo mu majyepfo y'igihugu bese kuko yatwiciye abantu kandi akaduheza mu mashuri no mu myanya myiza y'ubutegetsi, mbese akatubwira muri byinshi, twasanze ko dutanyije na FPR ifite intwari ikatanerwa inkunga ya politiki n'amahanga byarushaho kutworohera kujegaza IKINANI n'akazu kacyo no kugihubura ku ntebe y'Ubwami cyibwiraga ko cyarazwe n'iyakare. None se wowe ntiwiboneye ko inkotanyi zatitije icyo kigirwamana bigatinda maze tukaba twaracyambuye n'ububasha bwose kiratanaga. Nah'ubundi ushyitse umutima munda : nitumara kugera ku ntego yacu yo kwiganurira ubutegetsi tuzakome akamo inzogera zigomba kwirinda zirenga. Bavuye ak'Abagoye...»



**BUCYANA (asubiza) :** «Nyakubaha Minisitiri w'Intebe sinkurusha ubwenge n'icyubahiro nubwo nkurusha ubukuru nkaba naranagutanzze kubona izuba muri politiki. Ariko icyo nakumenyesha ni uko mu byo wambwiye byose nta na kimwe gifite ireme. Muri iki gihe cya demokarasi ishingiyeye ku mashyamba menshi ntabwo wari ukwiye kugira ishyamba ryemewe watambamira ngo ntirivuge, ngo ntirigere ku butegetsi nkaho ari ubukonde cyangwa umurage bya bamwe. CDR si ishyamba ry'akarere, ntabwo riri mu kwaha ukwariko kose, si iry'umuntu ku giti cye. Si uko kandi nkomoka mu majyepfo byatuma nkuyoboka buhumyi cyangwa ngamije indonke iyariyoye. Kandi udashatse kutubeshya icya Semuhanuka nta kuntu wavuye ko wowe na ya mashyamba yunze ubumwe n'umwanzi murenge Repubulika mukagamiza n'inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi y'abahutu kandi mubagambanira. Koko nk'amashyamba MDR na PSD abanyarwanda benshi bari bariroshyemo bibwira ko ari PARIMEHUTU (yari yarasheshwe ku maherere na kudeta ya Habyarimana) na APROSOMA y'umunwanashyamba w'abahutu w'imena nyakwigendera Gitera bigarutse akwiye kurindagira pese, kugeza aho ahitamo gufata

nya n'inzoka Shitani-ntutsi ngo ni ukugira ngo agere ku butegetsi ? Ko gishobora se kuzabakora. Nawe ubwawe wivugira ko FPR ari umwanzi, maze se noneho muyirusha ubwenge n'amayeri ku buryo mwazayigaranzukana, yo se irasinziriye? Ese ubwo mwibwira ko ibyo abatutsi bari gukorera Habyarimana kandi yari yarabimakaje bihagije ndetse birenze urugero cyangwa amarorenwa impunzi zimukorerako kandi atari we wazimenesheje guhera mu 1958 we akiri ikibondo itariyo nyishyu iziturwa abagishimishijwe no gushyigikira izo nkorammaraso ?

Ntawe nwose utagirana ikibazo n'undi. Nka Murego ntiyamara imyaka cumi n'ibiri (12) mu buroko azira ibitekerezo bye ngo abure kunwanya ubutegetsi bwamufunze. Twagiramungu ntiyabura Sebukwe mu buryo budasobanutse maze ngo yongere kuvuga rumwe n'uwo yameza ko abifitemo uruhare. Gatabazi ntiyakwishyizemo ko yashyizwemo akagozi n'abakiga ngo nawe ntababuze amahwemo. N'abanyagitarama ntibakwamburwa ubutegetsi ngo baterere agati mu ryinyo na rindi bakigereka urupfu rw'abanyapolitiki babo kuri Habyarimana na Lizinde, Kanyarengwe, Lizinde, Bi-

zimungu (?) na Biseruka ntibashimbuze umutege wari kuzabahitana ngo ntibihimure kuwo babona wawuteze. Ibyo rwose byo kwihorera no kwivuna umwanzi biri muri kamere y'umuntu.

Ariko ikidashobora gushyigikirwa no kwihanganirwa n'umunsi n'umwe ni ugushaka kurimbura imbagaga y'abantu ngo ni ukugira ngo na wa wundi umwe wanga agwemo kandi utanzeye ko hari icyo azaba. N'ubutegetsi bashakaga kumutsimburaho ashobora kubukomeraho cyangwa kubukomezwaho ahubwo abamurwanyaga bagasigara aribo ruvumwa kuko babyifashemo bucucu na bunyamaswa. Ko ari nta mugabo se twari twumva watwitse Inzu ye ngo ni uko yuzuyemo inyenzi cyangwa yinjijwemo n'inshira. Ni ikihe gihangange kw'isi cyananiranye koko; icyo kitavanywe ku ngoma n'amatora muri demokarasi gikurwaho n'izindi ngufu zitamarira rubanda ku masasu cyangwa zitayogoza igihugu... kandi no mu Rwanda size zibuze. Kandi jye niba unzi neza ntabwo nigeze mu buzima bwanjye ndarikira inyungu zo ku giti cyanyije bwite, mpangayikishwa buri gihe no guharanira no kurengera iza rubanda nyamwinshi no kubumbatira umutekano wayo. Ngirango turumvikanye». Ndekezi Bonaparte

INKUBA ZOSE NI KIRIMBUZI

Aho abaJDR biyise inkuba za zindi zo mu kirere nazo zagize ishyamba n'uburakari kuko abana b'abantu bashatse kuzigana. Nibwo zongereye ubumara n'ubukana bwazo ngo zitazahigwa n'abo zita utubwa two kumoka gusa. Muje mwarumva amatangazo abika, nta saha y'ubusa zitagaritse ingogo.

N'abaJDR rero nibakwete bakweturu, bakaze umurego kugira ngo badatangwa igihembo cya mbera n'inkuba zisanzwe zihatanira cyo gutwika, kwasaguzwa na kwica inzira karengane. Ariko nabo biyise nabi da, uretse ko ariyo zina ribakwiye koko. Ubusanzwe inkuba zibereye- ho guhekura ababyeyi, kugira abana

imfubyi, gukenesha abaturage zibicira amatungo, nta kandi kamaro rubanda ruzitezeho. Inkuba y'ingore yo ngo isya itanzitse, ntisiga ibuye na rimwe ku rindi.

$$H, Fr-X,$$

**BATAGATIFU ABA MDR BABA-KOZEHO !**

Abanyarwanda bari baritabiriyeye kwita abana babo izina «AGA-TA» kubera ko mukaperezida ari-ryo nawe yahisemo. None nta n'umwe ukemera kuribatizwa cyangwa kuryita uwe biturutse kumarorerwa n'ubushizi bw'isoni bya Minisitiri Uwilingiyimana «AGATA». Baba-bazwa n'ako kazina kari keza ka-pfuye ubusa kibwa n'inshinzi. Ari-

ko se aho abaturage benshi MDR ntigiyeye kubagerera. Dore nka BONIFASI, FAWUSITINI, PASIKARI NA DISIMASI basigaye bamagani- rwa kure no mu kiliziya kubera ko inkuba ziyise ayo mazina zarushije Lusofero kubeshya, gutukana, kwi- ba, gusebanya, gusenya ngo bara- bohoza, kwikunda bakanga abandi ndetse no kwica.

NY, F.

NDENGEJEHO NTAZI INYITO  
Y'AMASHYAKA.

Niba ari utwinazi, niba ari «malhonnéteté» asanganywe, uwi-twa Ndengejeho Pascal, Minisitiri



w'itangazabinyoma yumiye abantu barimo n'abazungu kubera ko yise CDR «Coalition pour la Défense de la Majorité Populaire». icyakora CDR irwana nyine ku nyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi ariko siyo nyito yayo izwi. Kuva uyu muni Ndengejeho amenye rero ko inyuguti «R» = République.

Ubwo kandi yari abivuze mu mateshwa yatangariye Radiyo y'abafaransa RFI ku wa 9/2/93 igihe atagira isoni zo gushyigikira ibitero by'amaraso bya FPR-Inkotanyi hagati mu mishyikirano. Ngo ubwo yashakaga gusebya MRND na CDR na Perezida wa Repubilika atazi ko ari kwiyandagaza ubwe we

n'ubutegetsi bwose bw'u Rwanda burimo n'ubwa Guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye yose imbere y'amahanga. Yagombye no gushyikirizwa inkiko kuko yagambaniye igihugu n'imbaga y'abanyarwanda ashigikira ibikorwa by'umwanzi mu ntambara anafatanyije nawe mu gukwiza ibihaha.

S.J.

## «Iyaba ari abatutsi batsinze, nta muhutu uba akiriho» (Perezida Gerigori KAYIBANDA)

Nyakwigendera Gerigori Kayibanda, Perezida wa Repubilika ya mbere yarababwiraga ni uko batumvye. Yabwiraga abatutsi ukuriye akabumvisha ko ingoma ya gihake idateze kuguruka mu Rwanda. Abasaba kwima amatwi ababeshya ngo bazatsinda kandi bidashoboka. Nta gihe atasebye abatutsi kuva muri izo nzozi bagafatanywe n'abandi banyarwanda, ariko baranangira. Nimwisomere namwe izo diskuru ebyiri za Nyakwigendera Gerigori Kayibanda. Imwe yise "Ubutegetsi ni demokrasi" yavuze ku wa 29 Marsi 1964 yari igenewe inyenzi. N'indi yise "Demokarasi izirana n'urugomo" yavuze ku wa 10 avri 1964 ireba cyane cyane abategetsi batari icyo demokarasi ari cyo. Ariko cyane cyane abategetsi bigize ibyitso by'inyenzi nka Nsengiyaremye. Demokarasi izirana n'urugomo.

Kangura

### I. UBUTEGETSI NI DEMOKARASI.

Bana b'abatutsi,

Mumaze kubona aho u Rwanda runyuzwe guhera cyane cyane muri 1958, ruciye ku kiriba cya Mutara, ruvuye mu mwobo Ndahindurwa yarushyemo. Muzi mutirengagije ibyago u Rwanda rwagize cyane cyane muri novembri 59 no mu ntangiriro z'uwa 60; aribwo Demokarasi yarwanaga n'ubuhake, aribwo gashaka-buhake Ndahindurwa n'abagaragu be baruhaga mu gisimu kibi. Bikabaye impunzi, inyenzi n'intimba n'abapfakazi.

Mwabonye uko twakuye u Rwanda mu gisimu Gashaka-buhake Ndahindurwa yarutayemo yihungira, tukaruka Demokarasi, n'ubwigenge n'ama-

horu. Murareba ibyo Letaya Repubilika imaze gukora nyuma y'ubuhake, ndetse na nyuma ya Independansi: biragaragara, ni byiza. Dukurikiranye ku byuzuzwa.

Mwabonye impagarara tuvuye mu zitewe n'ubukubaganyi n'ubugome bw'impunzi z'inyenzi: abaturage b'i Nyamata barabizi, ab'i Bufundu barabibonye, ni mubishyire k'ubugome bw'akarande buri muri kamere y'ubuhake: Gashaka-buhake n'abagaragu be bahuganye nawe, ntibarekera gucukura igisimu cyabo cyo muri novembri 59. Barabigaragaje ejo bundi.

Babonye na none tubibarinze batura ubundi bugome: baradusebye baratubeshyere mu magazeti ngo twamazeho abatutsi mu Rwanda. Cyo nimumbwire mu kuri, icyo guhutu aramukana ubugome bwo gutsemba abatutsi biba byaragombye kugendera ku bitero by'inyenzi? Ubwanyu bamwe ntumubivugira muti: «Iyaba ari abatutsi batsinze nta muhutu uba akiriho keretse uwemeye ingoyi cumi z'ubuhake»? icyo dushaka twakibabwirye muri diskuru yacu yo ku wa mbere yuli 1963: Nimuhumukire Demokarasi, mukurikire umuco mushya w'u Rwanda, icyo dushaka n'ubuvandimwe ku baturage bose: Uko muzabidushobokera mu tuzabatsindisha impuhwe n'umuco mwiza. Nimunanira umuco mwiza muri Demokarasi, ntumuzagire uwo muveba.

Muzi ariko ko Gashaka-buhake Ndahindurwa na Rukuba n'inyenzi zabo bakifuza ko mwamara nkabo: uwa-gezweho n'ibitero by'i Nyamata ubu mbase amereye neza? Ubu amereye neza kurusha uko yaramaze mbere y'ibyo bitero by'inyenzi? Cyo nimuzirikane mwisubize mutishuka! Bamaze guhimba undi mudeli wo kubaroha muri cyo gisimu. Dore uko uteye: babonye

inyenzi zabo ziburiyemo, n'ibisebo badusebye bibize icyo bifata, bahimba kuzajya baboherezamo ubwandiko bwa rwihishwa: bababwiramo ngo: «bazatsinda», ngo nimushyire hamwe, ngo intego bafite bazazigeraho».

Intego ya gashaka-buhake n'inyenzi ni icyo kubateranya n'igihugu cyahisemo Demokarasi: ni icyo kubagumisha mu bututsi (muzi icyo bivuye mu Kinyarwanda gikuru); ni icyo kubagira abagome mu gihugu: kuko umuturage wizera Gashaka-buhake Ndahindurwa ho umwami aba agomara Repubilika. Ubwo bwandiko muje mubujugunya cyangwa mubuzanire abategetsi ba Repubilika. Naho ubundi nebwo bwazabagera aho ibitero by'inyenzi byageze bamwe.

Icyo duharanira n'ubuvandimwe nyabwo mu banyarwanda bose n'amajyambere ya demokarasi ku baturage bose ba Repubilika. Nab'impunzi nta gihe tutababwirye ko bashatse kugaruka bagaruka, bapfa gusa gufasha intwari hasi no kureka amatiku n'urugomo n'ubuhake. Twarabibabwirye tweruye mu matangazo menshi twavuze yerekaye iby'impunzi n'ubugome bw'inyenzi. Ejo bundi twanzisobanuriye ko zifasha abadindiza amajyambere y'Afrika yigenga. Sinirwa mbasubiriramo, bana b'abatutsi, ko ubuhake bwashize, ko ubwami bugenda bushiraho ku isi yose, ko demokarasi ariyo ntego y'Afrika yigenga n'icyi yose, ko gukoresha kurwana ari ubucucu no kuva kera; ndagira ngo gusa mwirinde uriya mudeli mushya wa gashaka-buhake Ndahindurwa n'inyenzi ze: ubwandiko bwabo bwa rwihishwa burabaganisha mu rwobo twari tumaze gukuramo abemeye demokarasi. Se uwaburirira? Ubwandiko gashaka-buhake Ndahindurwa n'inyenzi ze babasesezamo rwihishwa ni wa mudeli wo ku Rucunshu, ni ya-







## II. DEMOKARASI IZIRANA N'URUGOMO

Banyarwanda mwese,  
Baturage b'u Rwanda mwese,

Ku itariki ya 28 Yanwari nababwiyeko ko Republika yacu mu ntego zayo z'ibanze, iya mbere ari amahoro mu baturage n'ibice byose n'inze zose. Nababwiraga ukuntu ayo mahoro twari tumazemo umwaka n'igice, cyane cyane guhera kuri Indepandansi yaramaze gukangwa n'impunzi zigize inyenzi zarateye Leta ibarwaho mwese, ariko cyane cyane ibuza utahawe ububasha bwo kugenza icyaha kugira icyo yivangamo.

Turashimira ko igihugu cyatwumviye, gahutu agakomeza gushyiraho amahoro. Abahawe ububasha bwo kugenza icyaha, ububasha bwagipolisi, abafite umurimo w'ubusoda, abo bakozi b'igihugu bose turabashima ko bihatiyeho kurangirira igihugu umurimo bahawe kugikorera. Ndashima umuturage uturirye k'ubushoto bw'inyenzi ngo agwe mu muco mubi w'urugomo. Ku wa 28 Yanwari nabubukije ko demokrasi izirana n'umuco w'urugomo. Nimukomeze mwese mu nzira nziza yo kurinda demokrasi yacu: demokrasi izira urugomo. Ububasha buriho: hari abashyamba amategeko, hari abayubahiriza n'abacamanza, n'abakozi b'igihugu bafasha abo bayobozi ba demokrasi bose. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: iryo jambo ndaribwira abaturage bose, ari gahutu, gatwa na gututsi na ba Kanyamahanga u Rwanda rwugururirye. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: iryo jambo ndaribwira abakozi bose b'igihugu iyo bava bakagera, abato n'abakuru.

Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: iryo jambo ndaribwira abategetsi bose, ubutegetsi babuherewe kurinda amahoro no kubwiriza abaturage bose inzira zashyamba umukiro w'igihugu, wa za Komini, w'ingo zose z'abaturage. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: n'iyi urwo rugomo rwatwikirizwa uburyarya busa

n'ubwa kera. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: n'iyi mpanvu umuturage wese, n'iyi yaba mutoya cyane, agiriwe urugomo agomba kubigeza ku barinzi b'amahoro bari hafi ye. ari abategetsi, ari abacamanza. Abategetsi bose bagomba kumenya amahoro no guca urugomo bakurikiza amategeko n'umuco mwiza usanzwe. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: kuko urugomo n'imvururu bihagarika amajyambere y'imirimo n'ay'ingo zanyu, urugomo n'imvururu ni umwanda mu bihugu byose, n'urwo byaturukaho wese, n'iyi babitwikiriza uburyarya, mwabonye abateye imvururu n'urugomo muri 59, aho byababaye: bizeye gutsindisha urugomo, imvururu n'uburyarya, basanga twese turi maso, ariko twanga urugomo.

Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: iryo jambo ndaribwira abarwanashyamba b'amapari yose ari mu gihugu. Bagomba kugira amahoro mu ishyamba ryabo: naho ubundi ntabwo igihugu na leta ya Republika byaryemeramo ishyamba nyaryo. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: iryo jambo ndaribwira inama zose, ari iza Parti, ari iza Komini, ari iza abategetsi bakoresha abaturage, ari Inteko Nkuru, ari Inama ya leta. Izisenderayemo ishyamba ry'amahoro niziye kwizwe mu zindi. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: mubukire no mpu bukene, cyane iyo igihugu nk'icyacu kimirije imbere gushyamba ibyakizamurira. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: umunyamahoro akwiriye kububahirwa, umunyarugomo n'umunyamvururu amenye ko afasha inyenzi, cyangwa ko ari icyitso cyazo: umunyarugomo n'umunyamvururu amenye ko aba abereye inyenzi icyitso n'inzi. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: umunyarugomo n'umunyamvururu aya aregera abategetsi nabo babisuzuma, nibasanga ari ukuri abihanirwe bakurikiza amategeko agenga umuco afatiwemo.

Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: utinye kuregera abategetsi aba atarumva demokrasi. Ariko hariho no kuregera by'urugomo: kurega ibitari byo ari ukubeshyera undi, cyangwa ari ugucumba amahari n'inzangano. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: igihe haba

umuturage ucumbeta amahari n'inzangano, aba atakaze umwanya wo gukorera igihugu, wo gukorera urugo rwe, wo kungura demokrasi muri Republika: aba yigira icyitso cy'inyanga rwanda z'inyenzi. Ntihakagire uwita undi inyenzi kuko ari igitutsi: namubona ubunyenzi nabyereke abategetsi bagenewe kubisuzuma maze yisubirire ku murimo we. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: mumaze kumva mwese ko inyenzi ari icyo zikurikiranye mu bitaro byazo: kuko urugomo n'imvururu byica igihe cy'amajyambere y'igihugu n'abaturage bacyo. Banyarwanda mwese, mbibukije icyo ngingo kuko muri demokrasi amahoro ku baturage bose ari ingingo y'amajyambere igomba kwitabwaho. Kwirinda urugomo n'imvururu ni itegeko ku muturage wese, ari umuto ari umukuru, ari umutegetsi ari n'utari we. Nta gihe mutabwiyeko abacamanza bose kugira umwaga cyane cyane kuri icyo ngingo ikomeye yo kumenya amahoro mu baturage. Nta gahato leta yashyizeho ngo umuntu abe mu iparti iyi n'iyi: icya ngombwa kuri bese ni ukoroharana, kwemera no gukurikiza amategeko: gutangaza mu kuri ikidatunganye, kuboneza programu igiye muri demokrasi, ariko akanga amahoro, nta kureba parti arimo agomba kubihanirwa, kuko guhunga urugomo n'imvururu ari itegeko ku muturage wese.

Ndashimira cyane abategetsi bose n'abaturage bose bihatiyeho kurwanya urugomo igihugu cyatwemo n'ibitero by'inyenzi, ndashima umunyarwanashyamba wese wahagurukiye kurwanya amahoro nta rugomo, nta mvururu, anyuze mu nzira y'amategeko y'igihugu. Umunyarugomo wese n'umunyamvururu afasha ubugoma n'uburyarya bw'inyenzi atabizi. Nimukomeze amajyambere ya Republika n'ay'ingo zanyu, muhorane n'amahoro y'Imana.

Kigali, ku wa 10 avuri 1994  
Prezida wa Republika  
Gr. KAYIBANDA

S6

**Tube maso kuko imishyikirano y' Arusha ishobora kudusubiza ku ngoyi ya gihake twari twarasezereye muri 1959.**

Abanyarwanda twese dushigikiye imishyikirano y' Arusha ariko twanwe akagambane k'amashaka amwamwe yagambaniye abanyarwa-

nda twese. agamije inyungu zayo bwite. Nubwumvikana ukuntu mu Rwanda hari amashaka 16, ushizeho irya FPR yose akaba 17 ariko amashaka ari muri

Guverinoma yaje guhagararira abitwa abanyarwanda twese, kandi twese tukaba twibumbiye muri aya mashaka 17 yose, ariya mashaka rero ari muri guva-







bagiranye n inkotanyi bagomba kuyuzuza Uretse ko nabo ari inda nini zabo zibakoresha naho ubundi bagombye kugira isoni z'ibyo bakora Gatabazi ni umuzambiye (Butare) Twagiramungu we ni umunyekongo (uretse ko abeshya ngo ni umunya cyangugu), bombi bakaba ari n'ibi sambo kabuhariwe Ariko se Ngunzira kuba igisambo byo nibyo, ibyo ari byo byose sibyo byatuma ashumunze bene nyina inkotanyi ngo zibamamira ku icumu dore ko n'aho avuka muri Butare zahagaruriye kera ikindi dukwiye kumenya ni uko inkotanyi ziramutse zifashe iki gihugu, ntakuvangura umu hutu w'i Gitarama, Butare, Ruhengeri Gisenyi, cyangwa se Byumba. Abahu

tu bese ni mu kagozi Abanyabyumba na Ruhengeri nibo babizi kurusha abandi. Abaturage bo ntawabashyamba kuko wenda bavuye ko ari bene wabo batashyamba, "abanyabyumba" bagarutse iwabo Nabo ariko ban bakwiye kuzinkana ko inyenzu nizekomeza gushyiraho abahutu, uwo mufeto uzahira urangira abahutu bamaze kurakara

Ko inda nini z'abaturage zizabakura aho koko? Tugaze aho duterwa Raridyo Rwanda. Radiyo y'igihugu igatinyakuvugako twatwemeje inyenzu! Ngo ni abashyamba ba FPR bahanganye abaturage mu Rwanda. Iyo Radiyo Rwanda ivuye ku inyenzu ziteye yari kuba iki? Twavuye ko yahindutse Ra

dryo Muhabura ngo ni aya Kangura

Twagiramungu niwe wigeze gusetsa rubanda ngo ya mashyamba akoranye n'inyenzu (MDR PSD PL) yashyamba Bruseri n'inkotanyi n'inyenzu n'inyenzu Impuzamugambi Simbizi Stanislas imureba mu gihorohorera musubizi iki Uko ushaka? Ubundi se koko inkotanyi n'inyenzu ziteye he?

Kangura

## CYANGUGU

### TWAGIRAMUNGU YAMARIYE URUBYIRUKO MU NKOTANYI.

Hejuru y'inkunga itubutse y'amafaranga Twagiramungu Faustin yakusanyije mu bacuruzi bamwe na bamwe bari mu mashyamba yabaguriye ku Nkotanyi, uwo mugabo akomeje kurarura urubyiruko rwo muri Parafagitura ya Cyangugu arushora mu Nkotanyi, ibyo aba shukisha ni byinshi: bamwe ababeshya ko inkotanyi zizabashakira akazi mu mahanga, abandi akabaha amafaranga, abandi akabizeza amashuri.

Ayo mazina akurikira ni ay'abanyabyumba n'inyenzu yabo bakiriye mu Nkotanyi baranurwe na Twagiramungu. Banyacyangugu ngabo abaza bamamira urusaku. Nimukurikize inama Minisitiri w'intebe yabaguriye yo kwirwanaho kuko inzego zishinzwe kubandira zisa n'izadohotse. Kangura izakomeza kubagezaho ukuntu urubyiruko rw'abatutsi rugenda buri muni mu Nkotanyi. Ni ngombwa ko abaturage babwirizwa ukuri ku bitero by'inyenzu. Abaturage bese baba bazi andi mazina y'abantu bakomeje kujya mu nyenzu batwunganira. Umusazi aravuye

akagwa ku jambo, Kangura irashyamba Nsengiyaremye kubera ya disikuru ya yavuye (bimuvuye ku muhima), asaba abaturage kwirwanaho Nakomereze aho uretse ko inkotanyi zizabumubaza kuko yatungashye umugambi yari afitanye nazo Dutegereje icyo azatangaza ku bitero by'inkotanyi mu Ruhengeri na Byumba. Dore ko Radiyo y'Ubufaransa yumvikaniye i Kigali tariki ya 9 Gashyantare 1993 yemeje ko Nsengiyaremye yari ari neza ibya biriya bitero.

Kangura.

### Lisiti y'abagiye mu Nkotanyi

#### Commune GISUMA :

AMAZINA	IZINA RYA SE	IZINA RYA NYINA	SELIRE	SEGITERI
1. KABAHIKI Célestin	KABAHIKI Sémpy.	MUKANDEKEZI	Karambo	Shagasha
2. KAYIRANGA	BIGIRIMANA	NYIRAMPAKANIYE	Karambo	Shagasha
3. SAGATWA	SEKIGWARI	NYIRANTAMA	Nyagatare	Shagasha
4. NKURUNZIZA Narc.	RWATANGABO	IYAMUBONYE	Nyagatare	Shagasha
5. NYIRAHIRWA	SEKARAHENYE	NYIRAMUJYAMBERE	Nyagatare	Shagasha
6. BUREGEYA Martin	RUSELI Gaston	MUKAMUGOBOKA	Kanoga	Shagasha
7. NAKANONKO	MUSAMBI	NYIRAMAKOMA	Shagasha	Shagasha
8. RUBANZA Bruno	NYANDWI Well	MUKARUHARA	Gitwa	Isha
9. NKURUNZIZA Gr.	KAJANGWE Déo	NYIRAMUHIGO	Kamashanga	Isha
10. RUGAMBWA Léon	HATEGEKIMANA J.	MUKANGANGO J.	Gahurubuka	Isha
11. NKURUNZIZA Eglise	KAGANDA Claudien	MUKANKUSI	Kigenge	Isha
12. KARAMIRA Berch.	KAREMERA	MUKANKUNDIYE	Kigenge	Isha
13. RUTAYISIRE Emm.	MUHUTU	NYIRABATUNZI	Kamashanga	Isha
14. HABIMANA Yuvens	KAGABO Veruste	NYIRAMUCYO	Kamashanga	Isha
15. SINANGABATWARE	SEBATWARE	MUKAKABUTENI	Kamashanga	Isha



16. MBYAYINGABO L.	MUREKEZI D.	NYIRARWIMO	Kamashangi	Isha
17. KALISA Vedaste	NDAZITATIYE	MUKANGABONZIZA	Karora	Giheke
18. MUZIRAGUHUNGA V.	RUVUZAMABANO	NYIRAMUTARUTWA	Karora	Giheke
19. NKERAGUTABARA	—	MUKAMPIRWA	Karora	Giheke
20. KAREMERA V.	NTAKAZARIMARA	MUKARUGOMOKA	Karora	Giheke
21. NZEYINGORO Fr.	RUZINDANA	NYIRABAGWIZA	Cyendajuru	Giheke
22. NTAKIRUTIMANA	FATAKANWA	MUKANYANGEZI	Karora	Giheke
23. RWASIBO J.	SEZIBERA	MURUNGINAYO	Murambi	Giheke
24. GATERA Théophile	KAYITARE Thacien	MUKANDORI	Gashwati	Bumazi
25. KABERA Tharcisse	NTAMBABAZI	MUKANDAMAGE	Kanazi	Rusambu
26. RWIGARA	GASIGWA	NAKURE	Remera	Remera
27. Nsengiyumva—Biregeya	GASIGWA	NAKURE	Remera	Remera
28. KAYITARE	FATAKE	IZABIRIZA	Kigaga	Mwito
29. NKUNDABAGENZI	MUNYAKAYANZA	MUKARUKAKA	Kigaga	Mw to
30. SIBOMANA	SEBUDAKARABA	MUKAMUGENZI	Kigaga	Mwito
31. BIMENYIMANA Jean	MAREKABIRI	MUKANDUTIYE	Kigaga	Mwito
32. RUTAYISIRE Dáo	MARAMUKE N.	NYIRABAKAMISHA	Gasheke	Biquzi
33. TWAGIRAYEZU Emm.	HUKU Dominique	NYIRANDUHURA	—	Gashirabwoba
34. RWAGACONDO Th.	HATEGEKA L.	NYIRARUGOMOKA	Ruhinga	Gashirabwoba
35. KAYITERA Félix	MUDAKIKWA V.	MUKARUKORO	Ruhinga	Gashirabwoba
36. KAGEUKA Alph	KANYANKORE	BANAMWANA	Ruhinamavi	Gashirabwoba
37. NIYIBIZI Félix	NZOGIROSHYA	—	Gasura	Gashirabwoba
38. SIBOMANA	KANYEMBARI	MUKANDEKEZI	Kagatamu	Gashirabwoba
39. NKURIYINGOMA	SEMANYENZI	—	Ruginga	Gashirabwoba
40. GATETE	KAGIGIRA Tr.	KAMPIRWA Ansi	Gashirabwoba	Gashirabwoba
41. SIBOMANA Valens	KANYEMERA Ch.	MUKANKWAYA	Gasura	Gashirabwoba
42. BAKAREKE Th.	KAVUBI Juvénal	NYIRAMAJYAMBERE	Gakw si	Gashirabwoba
43. NSENGIMANA V.	SEBARWANYI P.	MUKARETA	KAGATAMU	Gashirabwoba
44. KARANGWA Silas	MUNYANKINDI I.	MUKARURANGWA	Gasura	Gashirabwoba
45. KAYIRANGA	KANYANKORE V.	BANAMWANA	Ruhinamavi	Gashirabwoba
46. BUKOMBE Damien	MANGWETE Emm.	NYIRARUKARA	Kamuhaza	Munyova
47. NKUNDABAGENZI	MANGWETE Emm.	NYIRARUKARA	Kamuhaza	Munyova
48. UWANKUNZE Emm.	MUSIRIKA	MUKANYANGEZI	Kamuhaza	Munyova
49. NIYONZIMA	NDABAHIMYE	MUKARUGOMOKA	Kamuhaza	Munyova
50. UMURISA Désiré	SEBUHURA In.	MUSABENDE	Kamuhaza	Munyova
51. BUCYANA J.M.V	RUGAMIKO	KANDAMAGE	Impala	Munyova
52. SINDAYIGAYA	MUGARURA Zach.	—	Impala	Munyova
53. KABERA	NYIRINKINDI	KAMUGURWA	Impala	Munyova
54. VALENS	NDINDABAHIZI	KAMUGURWA	Munyova	Munyova
55. KAYITERA Alphonse	GASHATI	MUKAMUNANA	Rwinkwavu	Munyova
56. HARINDINTWARI	RUTEBUKA	N.HATEGEKIMANA	Turambi	Munyova
57. KALISA	HAVUGIMANA D.	NYIRABAGIRISHYA	Turambi	Munyova
58. NZARUGANURA Jean	IYAMUREMYE Cl.	NYIRAKUREBA	Rwega	Munyova
59. HABİYAMBERE J.P.	HABİYAMBERE A.	—	Kamuhaza	Munyova
60. NTEZUMUREMYI Roger	—	MUKANKURANKA	Mucuzi	Bushenge
61. HABARUGIRA Marc	GASHUGI Gratien	KANYANJA Joséphine	Gasumo	Bushenge
62. KABANDANA Anicet	KAJEGUHAKWA	KAMAGAJU	Kanazi	Rusambu
63. UYISABYE Pierre	RWIZIHIRWA Fr.	NYIRAMASANDUKU	Ryakigaju	Rusambu
64. MURENZI Eustache	RINDIRO Théodore	NYIRABAKUNGU	Kigenge	Isha
65. KARANGWA Félix	KAREMERA V.	MUKANKUNDIYE	Kigenge	Isha
66. SIBOMANA Bosco	SEBUDAKARABA	MUKAMUGENZI	—	Mwito
67. KAYITARE G.	FATAKE A.	IZABIRIZA	—	Mwito
68. BIMENYIMANA Jean	MAREKABIRI	MUKANDUTIYE	—	Mwito
69. NKUNDABAGENZI	MUNYAKAYANZA	MUKARUKAKA	—	Mwito
70. HABYARIMANA A.	NTAMBABAZI	MUKANDAMAGE	Kanazi	Rusambu
71. UZABAKIRIHO Emm.	MUHORANDE	MUKAMURIGO	Kanazi	Rusambu
72. HARERIMANA Th.	GATAMOBWA	NYIRABUJANGWE	—	Gashirabwoba
73. SENTORE	MAGEZA	—	—	Gashirabwoba
74. RUTAGAMBWA Oscar	HATEGEKIMANA	M.RUHIGIRA Th.	Kamashangi	Isha



75. RUZINDANA	BIPFUKO	MUKABAZOZA	-	Gashirabwoba
76. SINGIRANKABO	KAMENDE	BAMPIRE		Mwito
77. SIBOMANA	KAGENZA	-		Mwito
78. BUKOMBE Afrodise	BUKOMBE	MUKARUTEBUKA	-	Mwito
79. HATEGEKIMANA Jean	MUNYANGABE	NYIRAHABIYAMBERE	-	Mwito
80. NKUSI Viateur	NSANZURWIMO S.	NYIRAFUKU	-	Bugungu
81. NSENGIYUMVA Evariste	TWAGIRAMUNGU	MWIHONGE		Bugungu
82. JEAN	TWAGIRAMUNGU	MWIHONGE	-	Bugungu
83. RWABIGWI Félix	RUZINDANA	MUKANDUTIYE	-	Remera
84. NYAMINANI	MAFUREBO	NYIRAGUKURA		Remera
85. IYAKAREMYE Jacques	RUHARA	NYIRANEZA		Remera
86. KATABARWA Th	NGABOYIBWAMI	UMUHOZA	-	Remera
87. NDAGIJIMANA Gaspard	MUNYANDENZI	KANGABO		Remera
88. SILIRO	MPAKANIYE	-	Buganza	Ruhoko
89. TURATIMANA	MBARUBUKÉYE	-	Rusayo	Gashonga
90. ML RENZI	MUNYANGEYO	-	Kanyiramukina	Gashonga
91. VICTOR	NKUNDANYIRAZO	-	Kanyiramukina	Gashonga
92. JEAN	NDAZIRAMIYE	-	Kanyiramukina	Gashonga
93. RUGIRA Léo	NDABAGAYE Fr.	N MANNYWA	Busekera	Gisagara
94. KARIMUMVUMBA Innocent	RUZIGAMANZI R.	-	Busekera	Gisagara
95. RUKERIKIBAYE	SEBAHARA Bernard	-	Muti	Gisagara
96. MUKESHIMANA Théodor	GATERA Victor	M NTAGARA		Gashonga
97. NSENGUMUREMYI Anaclet	NIYITEGEKA Em.	UWANKWE RA		Gashonga
98. NKUNZIYINGOMA Théodore	KAMANURA	KANKINDI		Gashonga
99. RUSESABAHIZI Aloys	RWABAHIZI	N.NDAYAMBAJE	-	Gashonga
100. AKAYEZU Gervais	RUGIRABABIRI	N.MUGISHA		Gashonga
101. NGENDAMANYOVU Charles	MBANZAGUKEBA	N MUJYAMBERE	-	Ntanyu
102. NTABWABO J. Baptiste	NIYIBIZI Théon.	UZAMUSHAKA		Gashonga

#### COMMUNE CYIMBOGO

103. NZEYIMANA Th.	SUSA	MADAMU	Kabaha	Mibilizi
104. KAYUMBA Jean	TWAGIRAMUNGU	M NKUSI	Kabaha	Mibilizi
105. NDAGIJIMANA I	BURAYOBERA		Kabaha	Mibilizi
106. UWAMUGENGA J.B	NTAMAKEMWA	NYIRARUGENDO	Kabahinda	Mibilizi
107. MUHIRWA Ferdinand	MUZEHE	NYIRAKABILIZI	Kabaha	Mibilizi
108. KAGAME Athanase	KAYIBANDA	-	Kag kongo	Mibilizi
109. JOSEPH	BURAYOBERA	-	Kabaha	Mibilizi
110. VALENTIN	BERNARD	MUKARUKAKA	Gahinza	Winteko
111. MUGIRANEZA J.C.	HABAKURAMA	NYIRABUZURU	Gahinza	Winteko
112. KAMANZI Félix	HAVUGIMANA	-		Winteko
113. KAYIGIRE Déo	-	-	Rusambu	Nyakarenzo
114. NKURUNZIZA Jean	Ntamabyaliro	-	Rusambu	Nyakarenzo
115. MPAMO Thomas	Biriga	-	Rusambu	Nyakarenzo
116. KARIYOPI	Kajeguhakwa	-		Nyakarenzo
117. NSENGUMUREMYI V.	SEMANYWA	-	Miko	Nyanyinya
118. MUKESHAJAMBO J.	NSANZURWIMO	-	Miko	Nyanyinya

#### COMMUNE GAFUNZO

119. TWAGIRAYEZU A.	SANDURUME	MUKAGAKWAYA	Karango	Mukoma
120. BAKAREKE Félicien	RUBERANGABO	KANGABE	Karango	Mukoma
121. BUHIRE Eliézer	GASHEREBUKA	KAMANYANA	Bukoro	Nyabitekari
122. Kayinamuna V	KAREKEZI	NYIRARWIMO	Bukoro	Nyabitekari
123. MARIROSI Pierre	MARIROSI	MUKANDUTIYE	Karambo	Shangi



## Perezida wa Repubulika ategereje iki ngo asezerere gashozamvururu Nsengiyaremye

Twari tuzi ko ikiranga umugabo Nsengiyaremye Dismas ari ubuswa gusa dore ko yabyerekanye bihagije Anko uwo mugabo ahisha n'ibindi byinshi iby'ubugambanyi byo twari tubizi, ariko agomba kuba ari umugome n'indiyari. Umuntu uzi neza ko ari mu ba mbere bashinzwe iki gihugu akaba ashaka kukiraho mu yindi nta mbara n'ya mbere itari yarangira? Nsengiyaremye wagira ngo intambara turwana n'inyenzi nko tanyu n'ibagije akaba ashaka n'ayo hagati mu gihugu.

Nsengiyaremye urebye niwe nyirabayazana w'umvururu zimaze iminsi zivugwa mu gihugu cyacu cyane cyane na muri perefektura ya Gisenyi, Ruhengeri na Kibuye. Nawe se umuntu woshya abaturage ngo batemaneliyo abwirira abaturage ngo birwanaho aho aba atekereza ingaruka z'ayo magambo? Yarangiza akigira nyoni nyinshi nibarize Nsengiyaremye, abaturage birwanaho batwe na nde? Erega n'umumotari wa Nsengiyaremye, Pascal Ndegejeho akihanga ngo ahabura nyavyuze ko yashakaga kuvugako. Niyabonye uko abaturage bihagararaho ibibera mu Rwanda bise n'ibibera muri Zaire, aho Minisitiri w'Intebe Etienne Tshisekedi kimwe na Nsengiyaremye, ariho gukomeza igihugungo ni uguhimana Perezida Mobutu we rero ntavugirwamwo Yafashe icyemezo cyo gusezerera Guverinoma itagira icyo ikora na nyirayo Tshisekedi Sinzi icyo Perezida Habyarimana we ategereje ngo asezerere umuntu waranzwe n'ubushobozi buke kariya kageri. Nta kibuze kandi ngo ibyo bikorwe dore ko anabifitiye uburenganzira ahabwaho n'itegeko-nshinga Buriya ubwo ari Perezida Habyarimana wasanga agisana imitima Azasana ageze ryari?

**Perezida wa Repubulika nafata ibyemezo ibintu bitaradogera**

Habyarimana ntabwo umubijije gushishoza, kwitonda, nk'uko du

sanze tubimuziho. Anko hari igihe umukuru w'igihugu agomba gukora akazi abaturage bamushinze kuho niwe bibazwa. Muri iki gihe hari ipiga nwa nkabije hagati ya Minisitiri w'Intebe na Perezida wa Repubulika. Iryo piyagana, dushatse twakwita ipiganwa, usanga ntabwo ahanini no kwiyoroshya gukabije kwa Perezida Habyarimana, gutuma Nsengiyaremye yiyumva mu rwego atari umubundi uko ahandi bigenda. Minisitiri w'Intebe ni umukozi (umufasha) wa Perezida wa Repubulika, ntabwo Minisitiri w'Intebe ari Perezida wa kabiri mu gihugu. Kandi demokarasi ni umwe kw'isi hose, nta kuvugako mu Rwanda duhite uko twumva demokarasi gutandukanye n'ukw'ahandi. Ikibazo kimaze iminsi cyataye rwaseye mu Rwanda, ariko na ngombwa, ngo ni icyo kumenya ugomba kuyobora intumwa z'u Rwanda mu mishyikiriraho ibera Arusha.

Perezida wa Repubulika niwe wenyine ufite uburenganzira bwo guhitamo uyobora intumwa z'u Rwanda mu mahanga, akabikora mu izina ry'abanyarwanda ahagarariye Perezida wa Repubulika amaze kubona ko Nguzinzira Boniface atashoboye gushoza neza ubutumwa guverinoma yari yamushinze yamushimbuje undi, uwo ni Gasanga James, Minisitiri w'Ingabo Ejo bundi Nsengiyaremye muri ko gasuzuguro asuzugura umukuru w'igihugu, ari ntabwo bishoboka. Ngo Gasanga azayobora intumwa z'u Rwanda nshuri umwe, Nguzinzira undi nshuri, n'inyenzi. Ndasigwa Landowalid nayo ngo ari shema azaribona. None se buri muntu azasinye amasezerano ye, undi asinye aye, duta ayahe, ture ko ayahe? Amasezerano Nguzinzira Boniface, intumwa bwite ya Nsengiyaremye, yashyizeho umukono, aho atugeze nitwe tuzazira, ariko inyenzi Ndasigwa Landowalid azasinyana na bene wabo Arusha yo tuzayakira? Ni uguhinduka zageze i Kigali Amakosa, ubugambanyi, ubuswa bwa Nse-

ngiyaremye bugiye gutuma n'abababashyamba badukura ho amaboko. Nsengiyaremye nityasanze iki gihugu cyihagazeho, amahanga ayohera? None dore!

Twese rwose dushyigikiye ko umvururu zahosha, abazigizemo uruhare bagashyamba. Anko hari ibyo dukwiriye kwitondera. Anketi zizakorwa ku bategetsi baba baragaze uruhare muri icyo mvururu cyangwa se ngo baba batashoboye gukora akazi kabo neza, ntizizabwo uwitwazemo gushyira mu bikorwa umugambi w'inyenzi wo kwikiza abategetsi bazibangamiye. Ntabwo uyobowe ko Nsengiyaremye afite iki tanga cy'inyenzi yiyemeje kugeza ku bategetsi. Aha turasaba Perezida Habyarimana kuba maso, nibamushyamba amatiku, azarengere abarengana. Cyangwa se Perezida wa Repubulika azabwo nk'umwe mu ba minisitiri ba bo hambere, umusaza Iddophonse Musingi bavugako yariyanywe kwagura (démision) atabwo kubera uburungare!

Ik nditwasaba Perezida wa Repubulika gusuzumana ubwitonzi, ni ubushobozi bwa Nsengiyaremye. Nawe se wakumvisha umuturage utari ukuntu abatutsi bavanywe mu byabo n'izi mvururu kubera ubwirasi bwabo, bategeka ko babagoboka, bakanabababura mu byabo, mu gihe aho inyenzi zirukanywe mu Ruhengeri na Byumba, bacyangara? Abo batutsi se bategereje amasezerano y'Arusha icyo azageraho nk'uko abandi bakomeje gutegera ari nako babasukaho amasasu nkaswe abacumbikiye na Padiri Naho ibyo kuvugako ngo bazabura ibinyamakuru kuvugako ukuri ntabwo bishoboka kuko n'iko gusubiza igihugu cyacu inyuma nk'icyinyejana cyose! Dushyize mu gaciro, niba hari umutegetsi ugomba guhanwa kubera umvururu zabaye, uwa mbere ni Nsengiyaremye ubwe, abandi bakaza nyuma.

Kangura

## BURUNDI: BUYOYA azava ku butegetsi muri Kamena 1993.

Abahutu b'i Burundi bari bamaze imyaka irenga magana ari ku ngoyi y'abatutsi, baba bari hafi kurubuka. Perezida w'u Burundi, Major Petero Buyoya (Buhinja), wari amaze imya-

ka itanu akandamiza imbaga y'abahutu amaze kubona ko ibintu byamukomeranye, yiciriye urumukwiye. Ku wa gatanu tariki ya gatanu Gashyantare 1993, yatangaye ko mu kwezi kwa ga-

tandatu uyu mwaka, ari bwo hazaba amatora ya Perezida wa Repubulika n'ay'abadebite. Aya matora agomba gusiga byanze bikunze rubanda nyamwinshi y'abahutu i Burundi ifashe





ubutegetsi binyuze mu nzira ya demokrasii Uretse ko ari abahagabo?

Ni ukwitonda. Umututsi Buyoya atangaza buriya, nta gushidikanya ko atariyabyumvikanyehon'abatutsi bene wabo. Bakaba barateganyije ukuntu bazaburizamo ariya matora cyangwa se barateganyije undi mututsi ushoboragushimbura Buyoya. Bityo abahutu b'i Burundi bagize 85 ku ijana by'abarundi bose bakaguma mu bucukara. Ntawe byatangazaga. Buyoya yemeye politiki ishingiyeye ku mashyamba menshi biruhanyije. Yabanye kubeshya ko icyo politiki ngo ari yo gutanya abarundi. Ubwo yashakaga kuburizamo ibitekerezo by'imibaga nyamwinshi y'abahutu, abatutsi bene wabo bakandamije kuva kera. Abafasha igihugu cy'u Burundi (bailleurs de Fonds), niba babereye ibamba uwo muwucanyi bamutegeka kwemera ishingwa ry'amashyamba menshi aho mu Burundi. Buyoya abuze ukubabigira yiga undi mutwe. Atanga itegeko ko amashyamba avugira rubanda rw'abahutu atemerwa nk'andi mashyamba.

Uwo mugambi awushingira umuhutu w'icyitso, Faransisko NGEZE, ushinzwe "intwari yo hagati" (Minister). Sibwo PALIPEHUTU ayiniduye ngo ni agatsiko k'abacanyu. Biba n'urwitwazo rwo koreka abahutu batagira ingano nk'uko bakuru be, Micombero. Bagaza n'aba babigenje.

Amateka y'u Burundi atwereka neza ukuntu abahutu b'i Burundi birangayeho mu mwaka w'1959 igihe bene wabo bo mu Rwanda bipakururaga ingoyi ya cyami. icyo gihe abatutsi bari ku ngoma mu Burundi bashukishije abahutu baho ishyamba UPRONA ryabeshyaga ko riharanira ubumwe bw'abarundi Nyamara byaje kugaragara koryari ishyamba ry'abatutsi. Abahutu aho gushingira ishyamba ribarengera, bata igihe cyabo ngo bari muri UPRONA. Ingaruka z'ubwo burangare zaje kubageza kure. Muzi abahutu bapfuye ku "ntwari" ya Micombero, Bagaza, Buyoya... uko tangana. Ubwo kandi ni nako bagikomeza ku babeshya ko abarundi bose bibumbiye mu "mugambwe" umwe wa Uprona.

Abahutu bamwe na bamwe b'inkwaku, babonye ibintu bikabije bene wabo bakomeza gushyirira ku icumu byemeza gushyiraho ishyamba ry'abahutu b'i Burundi. PALIPEHUTU Abaturutse ntibari basinziriyeye, bahise bivugana inkwaku zafashe iya mbere. GAHUTU Remy baba baramwiringiye.

Igihe kirageze ngo abahutu b'i Burundi babe macyi, bakanguke, kuko amaraso bamennye arahagije. Nibongeraga kurangara niba bizagaruka. Nibime amatwi biriya Buyoya n'abatutsi bene wabo birirwa bababeshya ngo mu Burundi nta muhutu, nta mututsi, nta mutwa, ubayoye. Ngo umurundi ni umurundi gusa, nta bwoko agira. Wajya kumva ngo abahutu n'abatutsi basubiranyemo! Ayo moko se kandi aba avuye he ko abarundi ari bamwe. Abahutu b'i Burundi nibime amatwi biriya bifutero Buyoya abapakira ngo ni "Charte de l'unité nationale" ari byo yita "ubumwe" bw'abarundi. Nyamara ari amayeri abatutsi barimo gukorekashya ngo bongere bagwe abahutu gituma. Abahutu b'abarundi nibahagurukire rimwe barwane ku nyungu zabo. Kuki ishyamba ry'abo, PALIPEHUTU ritemerwa ku mugaragaro. Rero ngo riravangura! Se ubundi bishoboka bite ko abarundi bose baba bamwe, bagakomeza kimwe? Mbe nka wa murumuna w'umwirabura wo muri Amerika Peter Tosh ati: "Get up... Stand up... Fight for your Rights" (Muhagaruke, muhagarare, murwane ku burenganzira bwanyu... Agapfa kaburiwe ni impongo!

KANGURA



## Iminsi ya nyuma ya BUYOYA

Ingomantutsi y'igituguy'umugabo Petero Buyoya w'u Burundi igeze mu minsi ya nyuma na nyuma. Kuko rubanda nyamwinshi y'abahutu b'i Burundi iri hafi gufata ubutegetsi izakushya amatwara azaba muri Kamena 1993. Nk'uko ntawe upfa atasambye, Buyoya nawe ni uko. Yiyenyeje ku Rwanda igihe kirekire ariko aho ageze noneho umenya ashaka kwiyahura. Ngo u Rwanda urwo rusabota demo-

krasi mu Burundi da! Ubundi se hari demokrasii yigeze muri icyo gihugu?

Muzi ukuntu umuyobozu w'iki nyamakuru Kangura yatotejwe mu minsi ishize, agafatwa, agafungwa bitegetse na Buyoya. Ubwo kandi ni nako wa muwira muri politiki, Nsengiyaremye Dismas yirirwa aremesha inama za guverinoma ngo zo kwiga ikibazo cya Kangura. Ntawakwirirwa

tunatinda ku mahomvu y'umumotsi we, Pascal Ndengejeho wirirwa amuka kuri Radiyo Rwanda ngo Ngeze Hassan arasopanya umubano w'u Rwanda n'u Burundi. Emwe, nta nama n'imwe y'umutekano itarigwemo ikibazo cya Kangura ngo barashumisha Buyoya kugira ngo akomeze amarorerwa ye yo kwica abahutu b'i Burundi nta nkomyi.



Igitangaje ni uko Buyoya atituye u Rwanda ineza rwamugiriye rwemera gufunga Ngeze abubwo akaba yarashumuriye ibinyamakuru byo mu gihe cy'ye tuzi ko bivugira abatutsi n'inkotanyi. Muri iyi barwa ikurikira, ambasaderi w'u Rwanda i Bujumbura arashyira ahagaragara ubushotoranyi bw'ibinyamakuru by'abatutsi b'i Burundi wagira ngo bihemberwa gusebya u Rwanda. Buyoya ntazongere rero kwikoma Kangura nivuga akari imurorore ku mafuti ye.

(NDLR: umwimerere (originale) w'iyi baruwa uri mu rurimi rw'igifaransa).

Kangura

Repubulika y'u Rwanda  
Ambasade y'u Rwanda  
i Bujumbura

Bujumbura, tariki ya 12-01-1993

Kuri Ministeri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga n'Ubutwererane y'Igihugu cy'u Burundi

Bujumbura

Ambasade ya Repubulika y'u Rwanda i Bujumbura yishimiye kumenyesha ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika y'u Burundi ibi bikurikira: Mu minsi ishize, ambasade ya Repubulika y'u Rwanda itangazwa n'inyandiko zisohoka mu Kinyamakuru "In-

dependant" zisebya u Rwanda ngo rusabota inzira ya Demokurasi u Burundi bwiyeje gukurikira. icyo kinyamakuru cyakomeje kubeshyera u Rwanda kugeza kuri N° 47 yasohotse tariki ya 5 Mutarama 1993 yemeza ko inzego zishinzwe umutokano mu Rwanda ngo zaba zaragerageje kwivugana umuyobozi w'ishyamba FRODEBU, yanditswe n'uwitwa B. Barutwanayo.

Ambasade ya Repubulika y'u Rwanda mu Burundi irasaba Ministeri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga n'Ubutwererane y'igihugu cy'u Burundi kuyisobanurira icyo bene izo nyandiko zigamije mu gihe guverinoma y'u Rwanda yatangaje inshuro nyinshi ko ishyigikiye politiki ishingiye ku mashyamba menshi mu Burundi bwiyeje gukurikira, inifuriza icyo gihe gukuzayisozza neza.

Nk'uko Ministeri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga n'Ubutwererane ya Repubulika y'u Burundi izi neza ibibazo u Rwanda rufite muri iki gihe, ni muri urwo rwego igomba kwiyumvisha ukuntu ambasade ya Repubulika y'u Rwanda i Bujumbura yakomeje kwihanganira inyandiko zisebanya zagiye zisohoka mu binyamakuru "Independant" na "carrefour des idées". Ambasade ya Repubulika y'u Rwanda i Bujumbura ikaba isaba Ministeri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga n'Ubutwererane ya Repubulika y'u Burundi gukoresha ubushoboshi bwose ifite kugira ngo iryo tiku rerekere aho. Ibyo bizatuma umubano mwiza, ubwumvikane no kutishyamba busanzwe biranga Guverinoma y'u Rwanda n'iy'u Burundi bisagamba.

Ambasade y'u Rwanda i Burundi ibaye ishimye Ministeri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga n'Ubutwererane ya Repubulika y'u Burundi ingoga izakirana icyo kibazo.

Bujumbura tariki ya 12-01-1993  
Uhagarariye u Rwanda i Bujumbura  
Sylvestre UWIBAJIJE  
Sé

Bimenyeshejwe:

- Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda KIGALI
- Nyakubahwa Ministiri w'Intebe KIGALI
- Ministiri w'Ububanyi n'Amahanga n'Ubutwererane KIGALI
- Ministiri w'Ingabo KIGALI
- Ministiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu n'Amajyambere ya Komini KIGALI
- Ministiri w'Intangazamakuru KIGALI
- Bwana Chef wa SRSD KIGALI

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HITIMANA Noël: Journaliste

## Nta nyenzi ibyara ikinyugunyugu.

Abahanga bazobereye mu byerekeye icyororoka ry'abantu batubwira ko impamvu abatutsi bakomeje kuba bake (aho bari hose), ari uko bashyiririrana bonyine. Abantu bavuka mu muryango umwe bakarongorana, bakabyarana. Nyamara ntibamenye ko uko kwironda, barebye nabi kwabaviramo gucika kw'isi. Biramutse bibaye (kandi bizaba) ntibazagire uwo bitakana nibo bazaba bizize. None se ni abahutu bazaba babatemye? Dore ko ari yo mvugo bagenda bakwiza ngo abahutu nibo batuma baba bake kuko ngo babamarishije umupanga. Reka bazabe nk'umugabo Landowalidi Ndasingwa, Ministiri muri Guverino-

ma ya Nsengiyaremye, ugenda abeshya rubanda n'amahanga ngo igituma acumbagira ni inkoni yakubiswe igihe yari yafashwe mu byitso. Nyamara se ni nde uyobewe ko yavutse ari ikimugali? Gusa kuba ikimuga si icyaha uretse ko na none kumugara bitagenerwe abahutu gusa. N'imfura ziraremara kuko imana yo itavangura.

Twatangiye tuvuga ko nta nyenzi ibyara ikinyugunyugu. Kandi ni byo! Inyenzi ibyara indi nyenzi. Ubihakana si uwanjye. Amateka y'u Rwanda atwereka neza ko umututsi akiri wa wundi, atigeze ahinduka. Amayeri, ubugome bwe biracyari bya bindi tuzi

mu mateka y'igihugu cyacu. Abatutsi bakiri ku ngoma, bategekeshaga ibintu bibiri: abagore babo n'inka. Ibyo bintu nibyo byahatse abahutu imyaka magana aho yose. Abatutsi bamaze guhirikwa na revolisiyo ya rubanda mu w'1959 ntibigeze basinzira. Bakoreye uko bashoboye kugira ngo bagarure ingoma yabo bakoresheje ibizungereze byabo, n'amafaranga aho n'ayafashe umwanya w'inka. Dore ko kera inka yari ikimenyetso cy'ubukire.

Tuvuze ko inyenzi ibyara indi nyenzi ntabwo tuba twibeshya. None se hari uwatandukanyaga inyenzi zateye u Rwanda mu Kwakira 1990, ukozi-tandukanyaga n'izo mu myaka ya 1960. Zose zifitanye isano, zimwe n'inzuzukuru z'izindi. Ubugome bwazo ni bu-



mwe. Ibyo bitere byose bigamije kugurura ingoma ya cyami na gihake. Amatorerwa inyenzi z'ubu zikorera abaturage, ni kimwe n'ay'iza kera zakoraga kwica, gusahura, gufata abari n'abategarugori ku ngufu n'ibindi.

Kuba mu rurimi rwacu, bamwita inzoka, byonyine birahagije. Bivugabiyinshi. Umututsi ni wa muntu ugira akarimi gasize amavuta, nyamara ubugome bwe bukaba buzenze urugero. Umututsi ni wa muntu ugira inzika idashira, udashobora kumenya icyo atekereza, mugaseka nyamara we ashira. Mu rurimi rwacu, kuba umututsi yitwa inyenzi ni uko yitwikira ijoro, akigira nyoni nyinshi kugira ngo asoze umugambi we. Ijambo inyenzi na none ritwibutse inzoka kabutindi ifite ubumara bukaze cyane. Kuba rero umututsi yarahisemo kwiyita amazina nk'ayo, uwumva yakumva. Nta nyenzi ibyara ikinyugunyugu koko. Iyo urebye neza amayeri y'umututsi w'ubu kimwe n'ay'uwo hambere. Amateka y'u Rwanda niyo dutanga ho umugabo. Atubwira ko abatutsi bahakishije abahutu igihe kirekire abagore n'inka. Nyuma y'aho bavaniye ku butegetsi mu w'1959, abatutsi barongeye bakoresha ibisungerezi n'amafanga (inka za kera) kugira ngo basubize abahutu mu bucakara. Repubulika ya mbere yashoboye kwihagararaho ku-

bera cyane cyane Nyakwigendera Gerigori Kayibanda wari uzi neza amayeri y'umututsi. Repubulika ya kabiri yo yaje igwa mu mutego w'inyenzi-ntutsi. Ahatutsi bahumye abahutu cyane cyane abari bafite imyanya ikomeye mu butegetsi, babadabagiza mu "mahoro" n'ubumwe" nabo ubwabo batemera. Babashyirira ibizungerezi birabazubaza biratinda. Mu gihe abahutu bari mu muganda no muri amashyamba abatutsi bateguraga igitero cyabasubiza ku butegetsi.

Abahutu bashigutse, Rwigema na bagenzi be bambutse Kagitumba. Ni byo abahutu bise ngo batewe batunguwe. Habaye ahabagabo naho ubundi inyenzi zari zirufashe mpiri. Mu gihe ibizungerezi by'abatutsi bakomeye muri iki gihugu, abana b'abatutsi barize baraminuza none nibo baganga, abarimu, ba avoka, abakuru b'amadini... reka mu bucuruzi hose bakubwira ni bo bafite umutungo w'igihugu. Mu gihe abahutu bo barimo kuryana ngo bamwe ni abakiga, abandi abanyenduga, cyangwa se ngo bamwe ni interahamwe, abandi inkuba, abasideri cyangwa abakombozi. Umututsi yigaramiye. Abahutu barebye nabi basanga revolisiyo bakoze mu w'1959 abatutsi barayibibye.

No muri ibi bihe bya demokrasi ishingiyeye ku mashyamba menshi, abatutsi baracyarindagiza abahutu. Umututsi azakubeshya ko ari muri MRND nyamara ayirwanya, agashuka abahutu barimo ngo batemane, basenyerane. Umututsi azakubwira ko ari muri MDR nyamara ntiyibagiye aka kanya ko ariyo yabavanye ku ngoma mu w'1959. Umututsi azarwanya CDR ishyaka ry'abahutu ngo rivangura. CDR ivangura ite ko abahutu ari bamwe, wabavangura ute? Nyamara ntiyibagiye icyo bavugaga kuri PL, igizwe n'abatutsi gusa uretse udukingirizo tw'abahutu bashyiramo. Abatutsi bashyamba amashyamba yabo (PL, FPR) ntiyibumvishaga ko n'abahutu nabo bagira ishyamba ryabo CDR ribabwiza ukuri. None umututsi azavugaga ko ari umuhutu ngo aravangura. Umututsi afite amategeko amugenga, umuhutu navuga ko nawe afite amategeko (icumi) agomba gukurikiza ngo yirengere, ngo ni umwicanyi. Nibavugaga ko nta nyenzi ibyara ikinyugunyugu ngo abahutu bavangura amoko.

Kangura

## HABYARIMANA NIYUMVE ICYO ABAHUTU BAMUSABA

Habyarimana agifata ubutegetsi tariki ya 5 Nyakanga 1973, yashyigiyeye politiki ye ku «bumwe n'amahoro». Urebye imvururu zariho muri icyo gihe zishyigiyeye ku moko no ku turere, usanga icyo politiki yari ifite ishingano. Gusa ikibabajye ni uko icyo yatonesheje ubwo ko bumwe bw'abatutsi mu gihe imbagana nyamwinshi yakomezaga kudindira. Igiteye agahinda ni uko n'abo batutsi Habyarimana yakoreye batamushimye ahubwo bagasigara bamuhema.

Kubera ko Habyarimana yagabiyeye abatutsi akababya, abantu bari basigaye bavugaga ko nawe ari umututsi. Nawentiyabihishaga. Hari igihe se atwugira ko ntacyo atakozwe ngo abatutsi bamemerewe neza. Ubushye hari uwari yamutumye. Abatutsi baradamaraye ku ngoma ya Habyarimana biratinda. Ngabo mu mashuri, ngabo mu bucuruzi, ngabo mu butegetsi, banashobora no gushyirira ahakobwa babo benshi





mu bahutu bari mu myanya ikomeye. Abatutsi bakomeje kuryoha kugeza aho umurengwe wabo ubumvishije ko bagomba gutera u Rwanda bagasubira kungoma. Si bwobateye tariki yambere Ukwakira 1990! Habyarimana ati: «twatewe dutunguwe»! Nyamara icyo aza kuba maso akumva inama z'abahutu bene wabo, ntagumye kudahagira n'abatutsi, ibintu ntibiba byaragombye kugera hariya.

Bavuga ko kunga ubumwe n'umututsi ari nko kurya umwenda w'inkuba. Kandi koko nibyo. Nawe se ukuntu Habyarimana yarwanye ku batutsi, akabakundwakaza, niba bakwiye kumuca ruhanga nyuma bashakakumuhirika? Reka babikore niwe wabikururiye. Ntacyaha batamurega. Ngo yikubiye ubutegetsi, ngo nta demokarasi, ngo ategukeshaga igitugu, ngo yababujije kwishyira ngo bizane.

Nyamara igihugu gitewe tariki yambere Ukwakira 1990, rubanda nyamwinshi y'abahutu, Habyarimana yakomeje gusuzugura, alyo yitabaje. Nayo ntiyamutengushye. Ifatanije n'ingabo z'igihugu, batsinze inyenzi n'ibyitsa byaso. Habyarimana akorwe n'isoni, yizeza abahutu ko bazahorera bene wabo baguye ku rugamba. Ntibiteye kabiri, nta wamenya uko yahi-

ndutse noneho ati: «ibyo guhora mu-byibagiriwe, gusana imitima nibyo bigezweho». Wagirango umututsi yari yongeye gukora ku giti cye (feuille)! Ubwo kandi niko inyenzi zigisuka ibisaso ku baturage b'inzirakarengane abandi zibirukana mu byabo. Rubanda yarumiwe! Ubu isigaye yibaza ukuntu inyenzi zaje zica, zisahura, zamara gutsindwa, umukuru w'igihugu agasaba abaturage kwiyunga nazo. None se kwitabara ni ikosa. Urebye neza kuba abaturage harirwanyeho, basa n'aho bakoshereje inyenzi. Ahubwo bi-baye ibishoboka nizo zari zikwiye gusaba imbabazi. Kuki Habyarimana agitsimbaraye ku batutsi kandi bo bararangiye ku mwereka ko batamushakaka?

Rubanda nyamwinshi y'abahutu imaze gutsinda intabara y'amasasu, ubu irahatana n'iya politiki. Habyarimana niba akidabagira mu batutsi be, amenye ko rubanda nyamwinshi yo iri maso. Ntabwo rero izongera guterwa itunguwe kuko ibuye ryagaragaye riba ritakishye isuka. Rubanda nyamwinshi ntizemera na rimwe guherwa mu butegesi mu mishyikirano ibera Arusha. icyo twakwishimira ni uko umukuru w'igihugu atangiye noneho kumva ijwi rya rubanda. Abisabwe n'abadebite (intumwa za rubanda), Perezida wa Re-

pubulika yafashe icyemezo cya kigabo cyo guhindura uyobora intumwa z'u Rwanda muri icyo mishyikirano. Umugambanyi NGURINZIRA avaho, asimbuzwa Minisitiri w'ingabo, Gasana James. Bityo umugambi wa NSENGIYAREMYE n'intumwa ye NGURINZIRA wo kugurisha igihugu upfuba utyo. Uretse ko bidahagije. Perezida wa Repubulika yari akwiye no gusaba ku mugaragaro ko ingingo zikubiye mu masezerano aherutse gushyirwaho umukono na Ngurinzira, ingingo zibangamiye inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi zasubirwamo. Dore ko byagaragaye ko rubanda inenga izo ngingo akaba ari nacyo gituma hirya no hino mu gihugu harabaye imvururu zahitanye abantu batagira ingano.

Igihe kandi kirageze ko Perezida Habyarimana yumva inama abahutu bene wabo bamugira kuko umunsi inkotanyi z'abatutsi zafashe igihugu nawe zitazamushyira.

KANGURA.

## INGABO Z'U RWANDA MU GIHUGU CYUZUYE ABAGAMBANYI.

Inkotanyi zageze mu nkengeru z'umugi wa Ruhengeri hakiri kare. Mbere ya saa yine z'ijoro zari zatanze kwica abaturage na zimwe mu ngabo zari kuri bariyeri, hakoreshejwe ibyuma. Zaje zizi ahantu hose ingabo z'u Rwanda zirinze umugi zikambitse, uko zingana n'ibikoreshe zifite. Muri icyo ntabara yo mu Ruhengeri byagaragaye ko abasirikari b'u Rwanda bari bahari ari bake. Nk'abari k'umusozo wa Nyamagumba bahanganye n'inyenzi kuva mu ma saa saba z'ijoro tariki ya 8 kugera hafi mu gitondo. Ibyangombwa byarabashiranye baramanuka, inkotanyi zizamuka uwo musozo. Zarahageze zirasa cyane mu kigo kiri mu nsi y'uwo musozo ari cyo Mubona. Ingabo zakomeje kukirinda. Mu bitaro bya Ruhengeri naho zahamishye urusasu, abarwayi babura kirwaza, ingabo z'u Rwanda zikomeretse zikabura kivura.

Zaje zije. Abasirikari b'u Rwanda bagemurirwa ibiturutse mu Ruhengeri babafungiyemo amayira anyuzwamo i-

ngemu. Zerekanye ko utera aba atekereza cyane kurusha uterwa we ugomba gusa guhangana, n'ubwo atari aho aturuka. Ibintu byose zabishyize ku murongo. Mbese ya mashyamba MDR, PL, na PSD yasinye nazo i Buruseli amasezerano yo kujya azigazaho amakuru yaragakoze k'uburyo bugaragara. Ibi bigora cyane ingabo z'u Rwanda zikomeje guharanira ubusugire bw'igihugu mu bagambanyi nka Twagiramungu. Nsengiyaremye n'abandi. Cyakora, abanyarwanda b'inyangamugayo baracyafiteye icyizere ingabo zabo; zizirukana inyenzi vuba.

Turatekereza ko ibintu byo gupfa kwirukana no gufunga ingabo z'u Rwanda ari ikimenyetso cy'ubugambanyi. Ubwo buryo bwari bukwiyemo kwamaganwa hakiri kare. Noneho hagafatwa ibindi byemezo bishya. abanyarwanda babishoboye kandi babishakaka bari bakwiye gukorana amasezerano n'igihugu cyabo yo guhabwa imyitoto ya gisirikari, yarangira bagataha, byaba ngombwa bagahamagazwa icyarimwe bakajya kurengera igihugu. Ubwo hakwigwaga n'uburyo bukurwanya ingaruka mbi zose zishobora kubyarwa n'icyo ngamba.

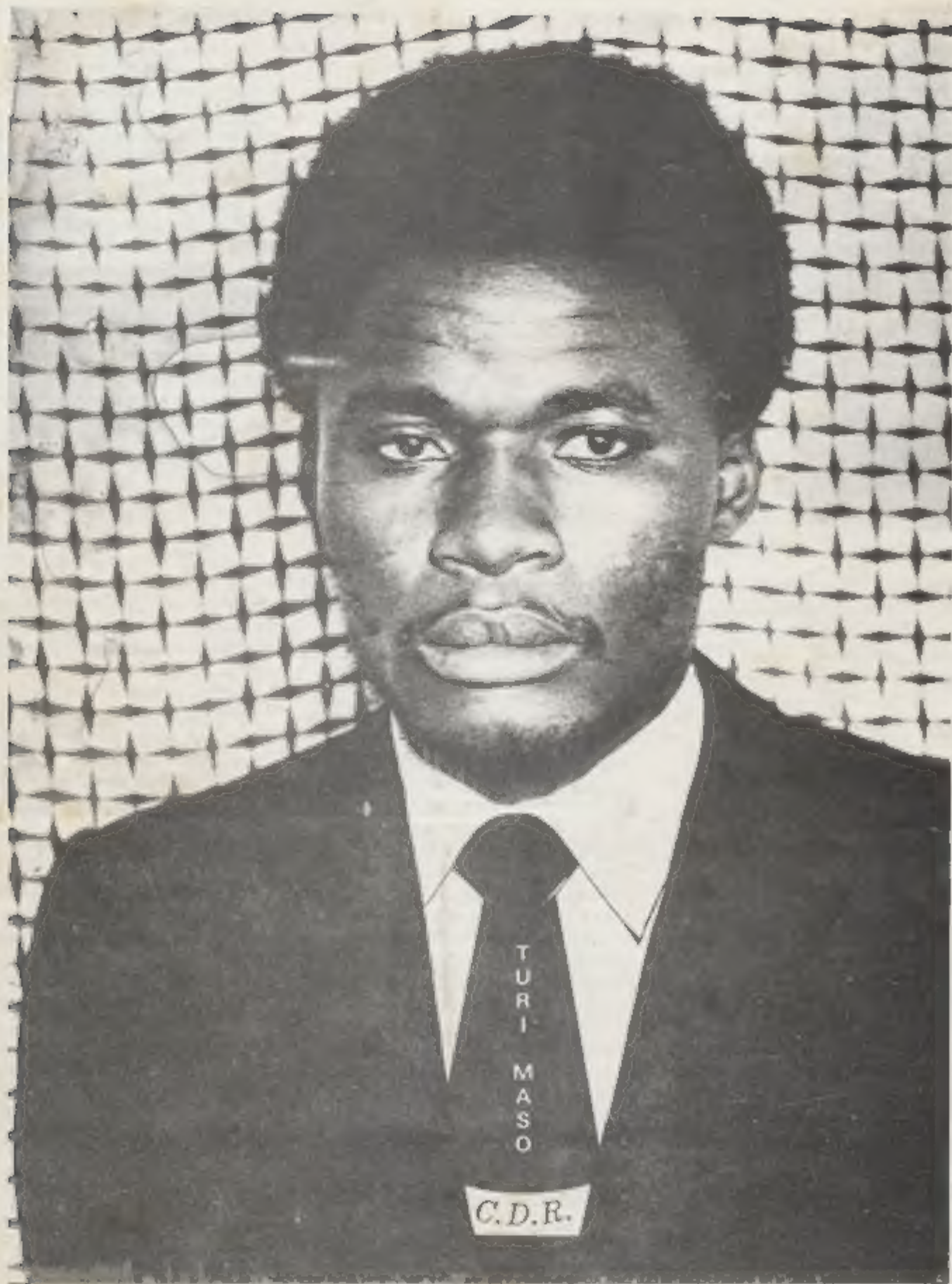
## ITANGAZO

Mu gihe twacapishaga iyi nimeroyari 40, tumenye ko Guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye yatangiye gushyira mu bikorwa wa mugambi Nsengiyaremye afatanye n'inyenzi wo kwikiza abategesi bamwe na bamwe bazibangamiye. Mwiyumviye abategesi iyo guverinoma isabira kwirukanwa. Ibyo kandi bigakorwa ntacyo iyo guverinoma ishinyigiyeho kindi uretse guhimisha inyenzi. None se abategesi baregwa ngo niba bateje imvururu zima-ze iminsi zivugwa, hari anketi yigeze ikorwa ngo ibahamye icyaha?

Turasaba Perezida wa Repubulika, mu izina rya rubanda ahagarariye, kutagwa muri uriya mutego umwansi ashakakumurohamo. Bityo azange ibyo bamusaba byo kwirukana abafasha be nta kosa bakore. Turasaba kandi abaturage kwihagararaho bakarengera abategesi babo kugira ngo batazabashimbuzira inyenzi.

Kangura





*«Imiryango yose izwi ko yohereje abana babo mu nyenzi igambiriye kuri-  
mbura ingabo z'u Rwanda na bene gahutu bose, niyo izaryozwa amaraso ya-  
bo inkotanyi zatsembye».*

**NGEZE Hassan.**